THE RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

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THE RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION

A CRITIQUE OF THE NORDIC DOCTRINE

by

FRANK H. HANKINS

Professor of Sociology in Smith College
on the Mary Huggins Gamble
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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
TO
A. L. K. H.
AND OUR CHILDREN

PREFACE

The pernicious propaganda relating to the Nordic doctrine before, during, and since the war is the excuse for this book. From the closing years of the last century to the outbreak of the Great War there was in Germany a rising tide of adulation of the blond dolichocephal as the embodiment of all that was great in creative genius, organizing ability and power of leadership. Before that war actually broke many a glittering wave of that same tide had splashed resolutely and ominously on the shores of England and America. With the actual outbreak of hostilities the doctrines that the Anglo-Saxons were the purest of the Nordics and that the salvation of the world depended on the maintenance of Nordic domination were widely and loudly proclaimed. The virus of that propaganda is as yet by no means spent, though it appears to be weakening.

The reader of this volume will be convinced that the doctrines of certain American scholars and publicists, which have been hailed by a large part of the American public as more or less fresh discoveries of American scholarship, are very old. Some of them were promulgated several centuries ago and all of them systematically set forth two generations ago. We do not attempt an exhaustive historical study of them. We have subjected a few of their outstanding formulations to internal analysis and self-criticism. When these authors cannot be convicted of gross inconsistency and made to destroy themselves, they are made to destroy each other. We do not, however, anywhere deny that the Nordic race appears to have excellent endowments; we would admit that in this respect it is one of the world's premier races. We do deny its universal superiority, as also its claim to a monopoly of certain human excellences. We also deny that to this stock can be attributed a special historical role except in a most vague way. Our thesis

is that all important historical groups have been heterogeneous in racial composition; and that all areas of high culture have been areas of extensive population movement and race mixture. In such mixtures the Nordic element has been, according to much evidence, a very valuable ingredient.

Having exposed the fallacies, exaggerations and inconsistencies of the Nordicists, we proceed in Part II to a systematic examination of certain fundamental problems related to the significance of race as a factor in the development of civilization. We contend that racial differences are not those of kind; that all races have all human qualities; but that they have these qualities in different degrees of development. One race may excel in physical energy, another in creative imagination. This conception does away with the notion of a general or universal superiority on the part of any one race. Moreover, in view of the wide range of variation among the members of the same race, inferiority or superiority cannot be attributed to an individual on account of his race. A short member of a tall race may be distinctly shorter than a tall member of a short race. So with intelligence, organizing ability, or artistic sense. Social barriers on account of race have, therefore, no basis in biological fact.

A similar conclusion is reached in the study of race crossing: there is no biological mandate against it, even in the case of widely different races. The sociological grounds for opposition to race mixture are doubtless important but their importance derives almost entirely from the fact that race prejudice is a social force and not a theory. Offspring receive their hereditary endowments from their immediate ancestors; if the parents are of high quality, so also will be the offspring, regardless of race. This fact is not altered by the crossing of races. On the other hand, every form of inferiority and deformity flourishes among the lowest strains of the Nordic stock, however pure. We think it can be shown also that race crossing is a factor in the production of talented men, and hazard the guess that most of the superior men of European history have been of mixed racial ancestry.

In relating these findings to immigration policy we think it has been shown that the new immigrants, though in the mass less

desirable from the standpoint of general intellectual abilities than the native population, nevertheless have brought into the American population endowments of aesthetic appreciation, artistic creation, and sanguine temperament that will contribute much to the enrichment of American life and culture in the years to come. Since the crossing of sound strains of different races is biologically sound, we contend that well-endowed Italians, Hebrews, Turks, Chinese and Negroes are better materials out of which to forge a nation than average or below average Nordics. From this point of view a sound immigration policy, if it could be governed by biological considerations only, would admit, without limitations of numbers, all those of whatever race who can prove themselves free from hereditary taint and pass intelligence tests which show them to be above the average of the present population in native intellectual capacity. Here again the objections are based on sociological considerations, of which the fact of racial antipathy is most important. Were it not for these traditional popular prejudices, America could do no better than to make itself a world asylum for persons of superior quality regardless of race or color.

While we are denying the extravagant claims of the Nordicists, we also deny the equally perverse and doctrinaire contentions of the race egalitarians. There is no respect, apparently, in which races are equal; but their differences must be thought of in terms of relative frequencies, and not as absolute differences in kind. They are like the differences between classes in the same population. It thus appears that the eugenic contentions are fundamentally sound, as against both the racialists on one extreme and the thorough environmentalists on the other. From the standpoint of the biology of population quality, superior rank within a race is of more importance than race. From the standpoint of the creation and maintenance of culture, high-grade stock is more important than cultural opportunity, though the latter is doubtless also important. The progress of a people is so greatly dependent on the abilities of its few ablest men that the primary question which a theory of the racial basis of civilization must answer is, what are those conditions which produce the greatest supply of genius? We have tried to show that this is primarily a problem

of eugenics rather than of race. It is also a problem of race crossing rather than of maintenance of race purity.

In the preparation of the manuscript I received assistance for which I am grateful from my colleague, Professor Joseph Wiehr, who assisted in the digest of certain recent German materials relating to the subject. To another colleague, Professor Howard M. Parshley, I am deeply indebted for a careful reading of the manuscript of Part II, which has greatly benefited by his numerous suggestions and criticisms. I wish also to thank Professor Robert C. Chaddock of Columbia University for permission to reproduce the graphs found on p. 265. Words are inadequate to express my gratitude to my wife and to Miss Mildred Hartsough for reading the proofs, and to the latter for compiling the Index.

Smith College
March, 1926.

F. H. Hankins

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PART I

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THEORIES OF BLOND RACE SUPREMACY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE interpretation of the processes of history is at once the most fascinating and the most difficult undertaking with which the mind of man occupies itself. Many interpretations there are—naturalistic and transcendental, geographical, biological and psychological. All interpretations to date may be put down as simplistic in greater or less degree. Moreover, all may be adjudged more or less tainted with some form of subtle and insidious subjectivism which, like an omnipresent devil, too often corrupts the most serious scientific efforts in this field into mere rationalizations of personal wishes and aspirations. No form of historical interpretation has enjoyed a wider popularity than that elaborated in its modern form by the celebrated author of the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races.* As an illustration of the pitfalls of a mischievous egocentrism he is rather typical than exceptional. He was fully aware of the treacherous nature of personal predilections and, in consequence, studiously avoided polemics.[1] When he came to deal with the later phases of Germano-Roman society and thus approached early phases of French history he seems to have set himself on guard against emotional biases. In this very interesting passage he remarks: "We are so intimately concerned in the sufferings and the joys, in the successes and the humiliations, of this paternal past, that we find it difficult in studying it to preserve that cold impassibility without which one cannot make a just survey. In discovering in the Carlovingian capitularies, in the charters of the feudal age, in the orders of the administrative epoch, the first traces of all those principles which today excite our admiration or arouse our hatred, we often find it difficult to prevent an outburst of emotion.

[1] Count Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai,* 4th ed., n. d., which is same as 2d, 1884, *Avant-propos,* p. xvi.

It is not, nevertheless, with contemporary passions, it is not with sympathies or repugnances of the hour, that one should undertake such a study. It is necessary to know how to subordinate these eruptions of emotion to the more noble and more serious research after the pure reality. In imposing silence on one's predilections, he is only just, and consequently more human." [2] And yet one can now discover in Gobineau's *Essai* a monumental preachment against democracy, a perfervid defense of aristocracy and feudalism, an expansion of the vanity of a proud-spirited poet into a "scientific" interpretation of all civilizations as the creation of a fictitious race of which he imagined himself, though obviously erroneously, to be a member.

It thus appears that the demands of the ego to be flattered are more easily understood than guarded against. Such demands are especially insistent when one deals with questions of race or nation. In a very deep sense both are an expansion of the self. I am my race in essence: my race represents my own potentialities in glorious efflorescence. Likewise my nation. And my race and my nation are almost certain to be one and the same. In most human natures the reciprocal interaction of personal and racial or national pride is perfect and complete. One of the primary psychic needs of the individual is a feeling of harmony, if not identity, of himself with his social group. This need is the basis of that group solidarity, of that group loyalty, without which man could not have achieved the mastery of the globe. For countless centuries, man, the intelligent wolf-ape,[3] hunting in packs, had his inborn nature shaped by a relentless struggle for existence which insisted that "the strength of the wolf is the pack." The human's attachment to his group is, therefore, often as strong as his attachment to life; even the individual will to live seems to ebb away with the shattering of group cohesions.[4] On the other

[2] (*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 471): see also letters quoted by Maurice Lange, *Le Comte Arthur de Gobineau. Étude biographique et critique.* Paris, 1924, pp. 120–123.

[3] See Carveth Read, *The Origin of Man,* 2d ed. 1925, Chaps. I–III.

[4] See for illustrations, W. H. R. Rivers. "The Psychological Factor" in *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia,* Cambridge, 1922.

hand, nothing inspires such courage or causes such an afflatus of soul as the consciousness of solidarity with a strong and all-sufficient group. The emotional responses of the individual to his group attachments are, therefore, deeply rooted in a nature that must satisfy its gregarious needs in order to live. Little wonder then that patriotism and race pride become a sort of "pooled self-esteem," [5] and the artful betrayers of scientific objectivity in historical interpretation.

Moreover, by some mystical but facile alchemy, this combined self-esteem transforms itself into a consciousness of pooled superiority. Few, if any, historically important political groups have not considered themselves in some potent manner endowed with qualities superior to their neighbors. The myth of a "chosen people" had flourished without doubt long before the earliest records of the ancient Hebrews and will in all probability survive somewhere among some dominant people long after all present believers in "Anglo-Saxon superiority" or the "white man's destiny" have become mixed for ever with the elements. Many of the facts cited by T. Lothrop Stoddard in *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy,* the seething discontent in India, the growth of race consciousness among African blacks, the self-confidence of Japanese, are sufficient evidence that many hitherto despised, as inferior, races are less ready than formerly to accept the European's estimate of their qualities. If it be true, as Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie argues in his *Revolutions of Civilization,* that civilizations endure on an average about 1800 years, then it is not impossible that present relationships of the races may be reversed in some coming "revolution," as they have been in the past, when the barbarian trampled upon the proud neck of his former calumniator.

It is only a step from the consciousness of racial superiority to the postulate that qualities of race account for national achievements. The historical process thus simplifies into an expression of racial genius. This seems a self-evident interpretation; it flatters national vanity and hence personal pride and thus has been

[5] See A. Clutton-Brock, "The Atlantic Monthly," vol. 128, 1921, pp. 721–31.

about as universal as the effort to understand man's political and social life.

Professor Dunning has traced certain metamorphoses of this manner of viewing history.[6]

> All through the history of political theory we have seen distinctions of race presented as the causes and sufficient explanations of distinctions in institutions and power. The Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons all left copious records of their conviction that their respective achievements were due to the qualities inherent in a peculiarly gifted blood. After the passing of Rome the partition of the civilized world between Christian and Mohammedan found a similar explanation in the genealogies of the patriarchs that figured in the sacred writings of both creeds. When the mediæval monarchies began to appear on the soil of the Carolingian empire their virtues were laboriously imputed by myth and legend to the heroic stock from which rulers or people or both had sprung. (Cross reference to "Political Theories Ancient and Mediæval," p. 225, to the legend that the Gauls who founded France were direct descendants of the ancient Trojans.) From feudal time this racial explanation of political phenomena was transmitted to the modern era. A nation was thought of as a population of substantially a common blood.

In recent times doctrines of racial superiority have played an almost unsurpassed rôle in the larger politics of states. They have justified cruelty and inhumanity; they have constituted a basic assumption in the expansion of Europe and the growth of modern imperialism; they have stirred race hatred, aroused the sentiment of patriotism and fanned the flames of war. The astounding megalomania of the Germans of recent tragic memory has found its counterpart in certain elements of the national egotism of all other world powers. For Western Europe the most interesting and historically the most influential doctrine of racial superiority is Aryanism and its various derivatives. Merely as an example of the origin, dissemination, aggrandisement and crafty utilization of a great popular tradition a sketch of the history of the doctrine of Aryan superiority should prove interesting.

[6] Wm. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theory from Rousseau to Spencer,* New York, 1920, pp. 311–2.

This doctrine is the common trunk from which have branched Celtism in France, Teutonism in Germany and Anglo-Saxonism in England and America. The recent war was made easier by the popular emotions attached to these doctrines by the leading nations of the Western World. In all these countries they have been assiduously cultivated, in part by sincere scholars, but in part also by pseudo-scientists who were patriots and partisans always and seldom or never seekers after truth. Christian ministers have shown themselves unduly susceptible to the blandishments of such doctrines, probably because of the affinity of patriotism and religion. It goes without saying that politicians of every rank have utilized doctrines of racial superiority to flatter the public and thus advance their own popularity. We, in America, are far from immune and recently have been bombarded with an unusual volume of semi-scientific but basically imaginative literature calculated to keep alive in certain elements of the population a consciousness of racial, and in consequence, of individual superiority.

For the doctrines of Anglo-Saxon superiority and Anglo-Saxon destiny are dear to the thought of a large part of the English-speaking world. At the same time, it is reconcilable with an intense hatred of the Teutons and Germans from whose midst the Angles and the Saxons derived. There has also been much laudation of the genius of the so-called "Gallic" race and its identification with the special characteristics of the French nation, wholly regardless of the equally serviceable tradition whereby the oft-despised Irish have looked upon themselves and been looked upon by others as pure Celts, and regardless also of the fact that England, France and Germany are composed of nearly the same racial elements. There are doubtless differences in the proportions in which the different ingredients have entered into the mixture in each case, as there is doubtless more of the Mediterranean element in France than in Germany and more of the Alpine than in England. But in all cases popular thought conceives each nationality as composed of a relatively homogeneous "race" with special marks of both physical and mental traits that enable one to describe them with accuracy.

In this country we have a very similar conception in our "Aver-

age American." Without doubt he is tall and stalwart, preferably with blue eyes, blond hair, fair skin and oval head, highly intelligent, inventive, possessed of a broad sense of humor, religious and gifted with a fine moral sense, and endowed with the "Anglo-Saxon" love of liberty and respect for law. In fact, he summarizes the virtues attributed to the Anglo-Saxons from the days of Tacitus; only, in the free atmosphere of America these virtues have truly flowered, so that *Homo Americanus* represents almost a new and special variety of the general stock of mankind. And because of his special virtues, especially his magnanimity and deeply inbred sense of justice, he is entitled to a special voice in the management of the affairs of all his weaker and less well-endowed political neighbors. But this pure-bred stock, which by its peculiar genius has created the world's greatest civilization, now begins to suffer from race mixture. Millions of aliens of inferior human breeds begin to infuse their corrupting and degenerating germplasms into the pure Anglo-Saxon race heritage of our country and this threatens our whole unique civilization with imminent disaster.

Such a view may at once be recognized by the average person as at best only a half-truthful one, and yet it may play an important part in the national psychology. So deep are the springs of gregariousness and group loyalty, and so generally vague and symbolic the methods of reasoning or appeal by which the group as a whole is moved to action, that broad generalizations have more vitality than carefully discriminating logic. In such a generalization there should be some element of fact and some element of historical tradition, illumined with several elements of imagination and idealization which appeal strongly to the instinctive desire we all feel to be identified with the best, the superior. The exact and complete truth is fatal to its driving power. Yet of such a nature is the conception of nationality as it is now held in the different countries of the western world.

The Great War was fought in part under a strong democratic zeal for the rights of small nationalities. The zeal for Pole, Czech, Serb, Bohemian and other so-called races burned vigorously for a time, in keeping with the new-born hatred of the "Hun" and,

after the Revolution of 1917, of the Slav also. If we had taken the proponents on their own evidence, as shown by the clamors at the Peace Conference and the score of little wars set up in the wake of the big one, Europe must have been the habitat of not less than two or three score of different races, each the basis of an ambitious nationality. Israel Zangwill found in Russia not less than half a dozen distinct nationalistic groups.[7] And yet nothing is clearer than that races and nationalities are to a large extent psychic constructs and hence likely to be geographically confused. Zangwill adds: "The fiercest fighting zone of nationality is Macedonia, and here the races so shade into one another that it was possible for the Bulgarian professors to find only seven hundred Serbians, where the Serbian statisticians found over two million and the Greek enumerators no Serbians at all." This same confusion of race and nationality is shown by Leon Dominian,[8] one of the most thorough students of races and nationalities in Europe, who declares that "Northern France is perhaps more Teutonic than southern Germany, while eastern Germany is, in many places, more Slavic than Russia." So-called Nordic types are relatively infrequent in Germany outside of Hanover, and certainly are more numerous in north and north-central France than in Bavaria.[9] Even Madison Grant, the chief present-day exponent of a special type of race mysticism, accepts the verdict of modern anthropology that there is no such thing as a "Latin," a "Celtic," a "German" or a "Slavic" race; nor does he find any ground for the long cherished tradition of a "Caucasian," an "Indo-European," or an "Aryan" race.[10] Some of these terms apply to nationalities or mere artificial groupings of a population, while others apply to linguistic or cultural groups of wider extent.

Recent writers have thus made it sufficiently evident that race,

[7] *The Principle of Nationalities,* New York, 1917.

[8] "The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe," New York, 1917.

[9] W. L. Ripley, *Races of Europe,* pp. 217–8; F. G. Parsons, "Observations on German Prisoners of War," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.,* vol. 49, 1919, pp. 20–35.

[10] *Passing of the Great Race,* Chap. V, pp. 52–62.

nationality and nation are not identifiable. All these concepts are extraordinarily elusive and are customarily used in a loose, ill-defined manner. Race is a zoölogical term and its confines, though often arbitrary, are, nevertheless, always set by distinctive physical traits; but experience long ago demonstrated that, so far as the European races are concerned, the effort to combine several traits, such as stature, hair- and eye-color, and head-shape, results in the construction of a racial type which has about it much the same sort of illusiveness and ideality which attaches to Quetelet's conception of the "average man." Nationality and nation on the other hand are political or social concepts and may conceivably exist in spite of the utmost differences in component racial elements. In fact, they do exist both in America and in Europe on the most heterogeneous racial basis. But an outstanding fact historically is, that wherever the conception of nationality arises, the conception of racial unity and solidarity arises with it and becomes a fundamental factor in the driving force of the national egotism. One of the soundest generalizations in the field of the historical sociology of Europe is that made by Gumplowicz, that nationality is the precursor of race. He doubtless went too far in declaring that the origins of race were not to be sought in the arena of biological process, and yet was sound in holding that race becomes only an historical concept. He said: "Race is a unity created in the course of history by social development and is precisely a unity which finds its points of departure in intellectual factors (language, religion, morals, law, culture, etc.) and thereafter attains the more powerful physical factor, the unity of blood, which binds all together in a true bond." [11] This is undoubtedly a correct explanation of the process whereby Englishmen come to think of themselves as belonging to "the English race," and Frenchmen as belonging to "the French race." The territories of the historical nations may at one time have been the home of nearly pure races. In consequence of migration and conquest their populations became very heterogeneous; the original races gradually dissolved never to be again reconstituted. But in each of them with the development

[11] Quoted by T. Simar, *Étude critique sur la formation de la doctrine des races,* from *Der Rassenkampf,* p. 195.

of common customs and traditions, and especially in consequence of racial amalgamation, all elements of the population acquire, first, consciousness of a common group destiny and, thereafter, consciousness of common blood. Of such a generalization the Jewish people, though lacking the common territory which constitutes the normal attribute of a nation, are a striking illustration. They have all the other marks of nationality and also a highly developed race consciousness, a sense of racial superiority and even of racial purity. And yet even a small group of them will reveal nearly the entire range of variation of the whole human species as regards head-form, hair- and eye-color, hair-form, complexion, shape of nose and lips, and even stature.

Race thus both precedes and follows nationality; and yet there is never an instance where race and nationality are more than roughly identifiable. On the other hand, even though it be clear that nations are composed of varied racial ingredients, it is far from logical to conclude that, therefore, there is no significance to be attached to the racial basis of national life. This conclusion is regularly drawn by a good many students of these matters who think it an adequate refutation of the claims of the racialists to point out that all the historical nations have been of impure blood. Even as regards the nations of western Europe, which are admittedly composed of very similar original elements, we still have to take account of differences in the proportions of the original elements, and the extent to which a particular element has held power and prestige and thus has exercised a special influence over the development of the national life. It may be utterly impossible to answer such questions with a fair degree of scientific finality, and yet they may be so fundamental that in the absence of an answer one may be driven to skepticism as regards the claims not merely of the racialists but of the sociological determinists of every other brand. In any case such skepticism is much needed in all sociological reasoning as a corrective for the tendency to make bold and glittering generalizations based on a portion of the facts.

Of course, it is possible to take refuge in the vague and misty doctrines of those who profess to find no differences in the hereditary capacities of the races. This is the easiest solution of all the

difficulties for one can then become entirely indifferent to the racial basis of history and look for determining factors in geographical or cultural environment. But it is, to say the least, highly unscientific to do so, for no possible factor will be neglected in a truly scientific conclusion. Moreover, racial differences are obvious on the physical plane, and this lends a presumption to the claim for differences on the mental plane also. But there is a great difficulty in making these differences specific and of the sort that is significant in the historical processes. The interaction of racial qualities with national custom and tradition produces a joint product of cultural evolution in which it becomes next to impossible to distinguish that which may be due to specific racial traits from that which is due to the milieu operating on human qualities diffused generally among all mankind. It may well be true that all human traits are common to all groups of men and yet the course of historical evolution may have been greatly affected by the differences in the proportions in which certain qualities appear in the hereditary endowment of certain groups in contrast to others. It will hereafter be pointed out that there are good grounds for concluding that general intelligence of an unusually high order appears with less frequency among some races than among others and that this is an important factor in the historical rôle of each race for it determines its fecundity in men of genius of different kinds. In fact, one race may be superior in one desirable quality and another race in a different quality. Consequently, it is not at all impossible that the race purists have entirely missed the true significance of the racial factor in history in holding that amalgamation of different stocks is the source of national decline. It seems quite possible to make out an equally convincing case for the theory that race mixture is an essential factor in the fertility of a group in those varied types of super-talent which are the real creators of the higher products of civilization.

With these preliminary considerations in mind we shall attempt a brief historical survey of some of the more important theories regarding the rôle of race in history with a view to making clear the scientific problems involved therein and the manner in which they have been viewed in the past. If we later take up a critical

and systematic treatment of some of these problems it is not with the assumption that they can as yet be solved but that their solution is dependent on a correct understanding of the exact issues involved and the manner in which the solution is approached.

CHAPTER II

ARYANISM

PHILOSOPHY and metaphysics are essentially exercises of the poetical imagination. A philosophical system has about it much that is purely personal reflecting "the secret places of the heart" of the author; there is about it also much of abstraction, of idealization and even of reverie. The builders of cosmologies and systems of philosophy have been the world's greatest poets, for the sweep of their imagination has extended to the limits of time and space and the art of their construction has been imbued with both logic and proportion and colored by a consciousness of the visible and the invisible. Moreover, many of the great philosophical minds have turned their powers to the interpretation of man's origin and destiny and the resultant philosophies of history have reflected the best and the worst qualities of constructive imagination and poetical idealization. To the modern mind the historical interpretations of Bishop Bossuet, of Vico, of Rousseau, of Hegel read like the legends and fairy-tales of an ancient age. Their beauty and power are, however, no less evident than their unreality.

This becomes more and more evident with the passage of time and hence new poet-philosophers essay the Herculean task of writing a new version of the historical process. Each age produces its own vision and its own St. John to write its appropriate Apocalypse. It is easy from the vantage point of a new orientation to criticize these visions of a past generation, corrupted as they usually are by the dross of human passions and nationalistic egoism. Yet every serious effort to find the secret springs of eternal progress—if there be such—is worthy its due meed of respect. For it does not appear that modern social science has as yet made it at all clear how society comes to be what it is and how it comes

to be and to do what it does not want to be and to do; and we still seem to be a very, very long way from that millennium of much recent sociological writing in which, as dreamed by the late Lester F. Ward, the age of social telesis shall be at hand. There is almost no general agreement as to any of the fundamentals; we still fall apart into schools of historical interpretation; or, if we try to be strictly scientific and to resist the insidious seductions of the will to believe, we acquire an attitude of open skepticism or at least of gentle cynicism regarding all theories and proposals. Be it so. We may, nevertheless, not find it fruitless to examine one of the great visions of the past century, facsimiles of which are still reproduced in literature and popular thought. It is no exaggeration to say that the doctrine of Aryan ascendancy of which Count Arthur de Gobineau has been proven by time to have been the major prophet was one of the most influential ideas of the half century preceding the Great War.

Before entering upon a detailed examination of Gobineau's views it seems worth while to note briefly a few phases of the history of the Aryan myth. This famous doctrine had its origin in the discovery by various philologists of certain similarities between the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, German, English and Celtic languages. One of the first to call attention to this similarity was Sir William Jones as early as 1788. About twenty years later Friedrich Schlegel announced the erroneous opinion that Sanskrit was the mother of the other languages. He made the first extensive and scholarly study of the wisdom and language of the Hindoos; and introduced into German philosophy of history the doctrine that the Teutonic racial elements had saved civilization by revivifying and regenerating a decaying Romanized Christianity. As early as 1813 the term "Indo-European" was used by Dr. Thomas Young in the *Quarterly Review,* though in a more comprehensive sense than at present. In 1820 J. G. Rhode made central Asia the original home of the Indo-Europeans. The term "Indo-German" was employed in Germany a few years later by J. von Klaproth, and has been constantly employed there for the broader term "Indo-European." In 1831 J. C. Prichard cleared up all doubts as to the affinity of the Celtic languages to the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Ger-

man, while the thorough work of the Berlin University philologist, Franz Bopp, in 1833, laid a secure basis for comparative philology. Bopp's justly celebrated "Comparative Grammar" [1] was translated into English in three volumes in 1845–1850 and into French in five volumes in 1866–1874, and gave general currency to the term "Indo-German." It was in 1845 that A. Kuhn pictured the Aryans before their separation and diffusion as living a well-ordered family life with their flocks and herds and the elements of agriculture. Three years later Jacob Grimm pictured them as essentially pastoral in their long trek from Asia to Europe.[2]

In 1840 F. A. Pott [3] placed the original home of the Aryans in the valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes and on the slopes of the Hindu Kush Mountains. This location appealed strongly to the imagination and remained in both scientific and popular writings the most commonly assigned place of origin until the end of the century. Pott was endowed with imagination and literary skill and drew a lively picture of the westward trek of the Indo-German clans whose superlative gifts were to control the destinies of European nations. He endowed them with one of those "irresistible impulses" which constitute the metaphysics of history and social theory, this particular one pushing them ever westward in a path of conquest toward the setting sun. The magic of this impulse so infected the imagination that so sound an anthropologist as E. B. Tylor a generation later equipped this moving tide of humanity with a special Aryan cart for the transport of wives and infants.[4]

But it was largely owing to the scholarly prestige, the fertile

[1] (*Vergleichende Grammatik,* Berlin, 1833.)

[2] For many of these historical facts set forth in greater detail with full references to the original works consult Isaac Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans,* London, 1890; Salomon Reinach. *L'Origine des Aryens. Histoire d'une controverse,* Paris, 1892; and Theophile Simar, *Étude critique sur la formation de la doctrine des races au xviii^e siècle et son expansion au xix^e siècle, Brussels, 1922;* and Harold Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World,* London, 1922.

[3] *Indogermanischer Sprachstamm.*

[4] Reference by Harold Peake, "The Bronze Age and the Celtic World," London, 1922, to the original, "On the Origin of the Plough, and Wheel-Carriage," *Jour. Anth. Inst.,* vol. 10, 1881.

imagination and the graphic pen of Friedrich Max-Müller, a brilliant and versatile German who became professor of comparative philology at Oxford, that the Asiatic view of Aryan origins was given a secure hold on popular tradition. In two series of lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863 on "The Science of Language" (especially lecture vi, 1st series) he presented the case for the use of the term "Aryan" so as to avoid the clumsiness of the compound terms "Indo-German" and "Indo-European" in general use, the Sanskrit-speaking people who invaded India having called themselves *Aryas*. Reiterating the argument that the ancestors of the widely scattered peoples speaking the various branches of the Aryan tongue must have been identical he greatly strengthened the doctrine that there was not only an original Aryan language but also an Aryan race, or indeed an Aryan family. From the affinity of the Aryan tongues, he argued, "It follows that before the ancestors of the Indians and Persians started for the south, and the leaders of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic colonies marched toward the shores of Europe, there was a small clan of Aryans settled probably on the highest elevation of Central Asia, speaking a language not yet Sanskrit, or Greek, or German, but containing the dialectic germs of all. There was a time when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and Slavs, the Celts and the Germans were living together within the same enclosure, nay, under the same roof." [5] It was indeed his assertion that the same blood flowed in the veins of the darkest Bengalese and the British soldier that caused serious doubts of the validity of Aryanism in the minds of all good Anglo-Saxon imperialists.

A quarter century later as a result of the rapidly accumulating evidence from comparative philology and ethnology that the identification of race and language was impossible since language is here imposed by conquerors and there by conquered, Max Müller vigorously rejected the assumed racial implications of his use of the terms "Aryan" and *Aryas*. He said: *"Aryas* are those who speak Aryan languages, whatever their color, whatever their blood.

[5] See Isaac Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 4.

In calling them Aryans we predicate nothing of them except that the grammar of their language is Aryan." Or again: "I have declared again and again that if I say Aryans, I mean neither blood nor bones, nor brain nor skull; I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language. The same applies to Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celts and Slavs. When I speak of them I commit myself to no anatomical characteristics. The blue-eyed and fair-haired Scandinavians may have been conquerors or conquered, they may have adopted the language of their darker lords, or vice versa. . . . To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar." [6] Nevertheless, he still clung to the hypothesis of an Asiatic cradle-land, a view that by 1888 had ceased to have wide credence among scholars, though it continued to appear in text-books for a dozen years thereafter.

Meanwhile had arisen a growing school of advocates of the European origin of the Indo-Europeans. In 1848 J. J. d' Omalius d'Halloy before the Belgian Academy made the first protest against the assumed Asiatic origin and contended that the conquerors of Persia and India came originally from Europe. He had made similar suggestions in brief notes to the Academy, 1839–1844, and must be given credit for first calling attention to the anthropological, as against the philological, aspects of the matter. Bulwer Lytton in 1842 opposed the Asiatic theory, and this view was given full elaboration by the Englishman, R. T. Latham, in 1851 and 1854 and especially in his "Elements of Comparative Philology," 1862. He based his argument for the European origin on the similarities of Sanskrit and Letto-Slav. The Frenchman, Adolphe Pictet, in one of the most notable contributions, 1859–63, placed the homeland in Bactria which he pictured as a primitive paradise, his idyllic phrases setting the pattern for many imitators for a generation, notably for the German Hehn, 1870. A. Schleicher in 1853 and 1861 outlined the genealogical tree of the

[6] Quoted in *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 11th ed., article "Aryan" by Peter Giles from "Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas," London, 1888.

Aryan tongues on the principle that those most remote from the center of origin must have separated first. Sanskrit being taken as the nearest to the mother-tongue, the most remote were found to be German, Lithuanian and Slav, while the Celtic, Latin and Greek tongues were of later differentiation. After a vast amount of dispute it began to be generally admitted about 1890 that there was no criterion for determining the remoteness of different tongues from the hypothetical original one and hence no basis for a genealogical arrangement. d'Halloy extended the case for the European origin in 1864 before the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* by contending that there was no proof of the Asiatic origin of Europeans, that inflected languages were more widely disseminated in Europe than in Asia, and that the peoples speaking Celtic tongues, the Low Bretons, the Irish, the Gauls, and the Highland Scots were descended from autochthonous Europeans. Benfey in 1868 argued in a similar vein and placed the cradle-land north of the Black Sea between the mouth of the Danube and the Caspian Sea.

Two years later Louis Geiger with commendable national pride placed the area of origin south of the Baltic in central and western Germany. About the same time Friedrich Spiegel agreed with Benfey that southeastern Europe was the original center and that dispersion had taken place both eastward and westward from there. In 1871 J. G. Cuno, another German, argued that the development of the Aryan mother-tongue to a high state of grammatical finish would require some thousands of years and a large area in which various groups of the original Aryans could wander about in more or less contact with each other and yet be relatively isolated from the rest of mankind. He found such a zone in the vast plain stretching from the North Sea through northern France and southern Germany across Russia to the Ural Mountains. He held that the Germans, Celts, Slavs, and Lithuanians were all autochthonous.

Mme. Clemence Royer in 1872 summarized the arguments for the European origin and added that the blond is definitely European, that European children are decidedly blond in infancy, even though they may become more or less brunet with age. From this

it was argued that the basic racial elements in Europe were blond. In 1872 and 1873 Friedrich Müller expressed the view that the original homeland was Armenia but that very early the Aryans had moved into southeastern Europe. Although the central Asiatic hypothesis was almost universally accepted as late as 1870 and was strongly reasserted by Virchow in 1894 it rapidly lost favor after 1880.

By 1879 under the leadership of French scholars the anthropological aspects were beginning to come into prominence. Henry Martin pointed out the division among Aryans between blond and brunet. Topinard proposed to place the origin of the "blond races" somewhere in Europe and anterior to the introduction of Aryan tongues. At the same time another Frenchman, C. A. Piétrement, finding German views at least unconvincing, suggested southwestern Siberia as the Aryan cradle.

In 1878 Theodore Poesche argued that, while there are many Aryan languages, there is only one race that can truly claim to be Aryan in blood as well as speech, namely, the tall, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, bearded and long-headed Teutons; he asserted that the center of origin was in the Rokitno swamps of west Russia where albinism was even then frequently found. Moreover, he contended that the Lithuanian tongue was closer to the Indo-European mother-tongue than Sanskrit itself. Carl Penka, in 1883 and 1886, strengthened and added to Poesche's general position. He showed that Aryan-speaking peoples are of several anthropological types, whereas the original Aryans must all have been of one type. He placed the origin in Scandinavia on the ground that the purest tall blonds with long heads are found more frequently there than anywhere else. Virchow on the other hand repeatedly opposed the idea of a uniform race type for the original Aryans, while he and Broca agreed that the round-headed or brachycephalic skull was superior to the long-head. The Asiatic origin was in the 80's defended by Ujfalvy, who made a special trip to Asia to study the tribes to the north and south of the Hindu Kush, by van den Gheyn and by Max Müller. Penke's doctrines were popularized in England in G. H. Rendall's *The Cradle of the Aryans,* 1889; but oddly enough they did not win the assent of the Scan-

dinavian anthropologists, Montelius and Sophus Müller. Salomon Reinach in France characterized them as pure romance in 1887 but two years later they were espoused by Vacher de Lapouge, to whom we shall return. Meanwhile, Otto Schrader in his rightly famous work, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte,* of 1883, and especially in the second edition, 1890, finding much of Cuno's area broken by forests and swamps, argued strongly for the vast steppes stretching from South Russia to the Hindu Kush as the original cradle-land. He made a detailed refutation of the contentions of Pictet, whose work *Les origines indo-Européenes ou les Aryas primitive* (2 vols. Paris, 1859–63) had been for a quarter century the chief source of linguistic arguments for the Asiatic homeland and for an idealized view of the Aryans as in their pristine glory already a race of heroes. Isaac Taylor in his well-known work, "The Origin of the Aryans" (1890), followed Schrader as to the original cradle-land but added anthropological considerations in favor of the round-head theory. He made the Celts, a tall race with round heads, the only Aryans, considered them a branch of the ancient Finns, and pictured them as Aryanizing the short long-headed Iberians, the tall long-headed Scandinavians and the short round-headed Ligurians. Sir William Ridgway [7] elaborated Taylor's thesis and extended it to include the Achæans. Since then brachycephalic blonds have been noted in various parts of Asia; they are said to have been an element in north-west European populations in Neolithic times; the Dorians are said to have been of this type; and the Round Barrow people of early England are believed to have included a large contingent of brachy-blonds.[8] On the other hand, Huxley,[9] combining the views of Cuno and Mme. Royer, argued that the first Aryans were a tall, blond and dolichocephalic race, living in central Europe between the North Seas and the Ural Mountains. The American anthropologist, Daniel G. Brinton,[10] had the doubtful honor of presenting the first con-

[7] *The Early Age of Greece,* Cambridge, 1901.

[8] V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans. A Story of Indo-European Origins* New York, 1926, p. 161.

[9] "Nineteenth Century," vol. 28, 1890, pp. 750–77.

[10] *Races and Peoples,* New York, 1890, pp. 180 *et seq.*

sistent argument in favor of north Africa as the original center of characterization and diffusion of the Aryans; a view of which was accepted by the distinguished English ethnologist, A. H. Keane.[11]

Such are some of the characteristic guesses as to the original homeland and physical type of these mythical peoples during the last half of the nineteenth century. Among more recent contributors may be mentioned M. S. Zaborowski, who in his *Les Peuples Aryens* (1908) presented the entire case for the theory of the central and eastern European cradle-land. A little later Professor K. F. Johanson, writing in the *Nordisk Tidskreft,* Stockholm, utilizing anthropological, archæological and philological evidence, especially the latter, found all lines of migration of the Aryans to focus in the Baltic region; he guesses that the Aryans reached India in the fourth millennium B. C., that the Celts moved westward from their ancestral Thuringia and Bohemia at the end of the second millennium B. C., and that the Germans began their migrations from Sweden and Jutland about 500 B. C.[12] More recently Professor Harold H. Bender,[13] utilizing once more the old threadbare linguistic arguments based on the names of trees and animals, a method generally discarded by 1890, has found in favor of the area north of the Black Sea suggested by Benfey in 1869. It would have been well for Prof. Bender to have recalled the mature reflection of Max Müller[14] that "the evidence is so pliant that it is possible to make out a more or less plausible case" for the location of the home in any part of the world. To which Ripley adds: "It is only the lesser lights who still deal with roots as if they were mathematical symbols." (p. 485.)

On the other hand Professor Peter Giles[15] thinks the original seed-bed of the Aryans was the plains of Hungary, where, protected by the Carpathian mountains, they found the circumscribed area which Cuno had a half-century earlier suggested as necessary

[11] *Ethnology,* London, 1896, pp. 205 and 376.

[12] See *The Amer. Rev. of Revs.,* vol. 44, July, 1911, p. 108.

[13] *The Home of the Indo-Europeans,* Princeton, 1922.

[14] *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas,* London, 1888, pp. 100 *et. seq.*

[15] *Cambridge History of India,* London, 1922, Chap. III. "The Aryans."

for the development of their peculiar characteristics. In the article "Indo-European Languages" [16] Professor Giles had suggested the term "Wiros," that is, "Men," to designate the original Aryan-speaking race, and Professor Peake, who adopts this term, identifies them with nomads of the Russian steppes in Neolithic times and thinks of them as "Nordic or proto-Nordic in type." [17] Peake, however, is willing to place the original homeland in the Hungarian plain at a still earlier date, "the latter part of the upper Palæolithic age." [18] Moreover, he expressly states his agreement with the view advanced by Penka, that "there must have been an original Aryan race," [19] that is, a group of one physical type who must be viewed as the originators of a basic Aryan tongue. This is a view which is sound enough in logic, but in historical practice it has thus far led to many a search for a fabled ignis fatuus. But like other features of Aryan mythology the original homestead, as well as the physical traits of the original simon-pure stock, is still an unsolved riddle. As early as 1876 R. Hartmann [20] declared that he considered the Aryans an invention of the professor's study; ten years later G. de Mortillet before the Anthropological Society expressed the view, already held by various anthropologists, that, since nothing was known of the Aryans, their alleged existence should be ignored; and three years later Virchow uttered a strong warning against accepting the illusions of the Aryanists, saying among other things: "The typical Aryan postulated by the theory has not yet been discovered."

The contentions of the various brands of Aryanists, Asiatic and European, Germanic and Celtic, blond and brunet, thus filled thousands of reams of earnest argumentation and vain imaginings during full half a century. And it is too early yet to say that they are at an end. Aryanism metamorphoses, but it never dies. Just now it is undergoing a vigorous revival in its original forms in Germany and England and under a new name in America. Aryan-

[16] *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 134–7.
[20] *Die Nigritier*, Berlin.

ism, Teutonism, Celtism, Anglo-Saxonism and Nordicism are variations on the same theme, namely, that there has been one branch of the human family so distinctly superior to all others that it alone has been the creator and sustainer of civilizations. The utter insolubility of the question of the actual physical traits of the peoples who played important parts in the historical drama three thousand years and more ago gives a loose rein to an active imagination. This, combined with the insidious nature of race pride and the joy of even the profound scholar in clear and simple solutions of the riddle of the human past, constitutes almost a guarantee that every new discovery of archæologist, philologist, and culture-historian will be utilized for a revival of some aspect of the old Aryan controversy.

One may dip into the vast literature of Aryanism almost at random and find excellent illustrations of the method of reasoning and of the difficulties involved in the effort to establish one or another conclusion. Mr. Joseph P. Widney [21] convinces himself that the "original homeland" of the "Proto-Aryans" was the central plateau of Asia, perferably the Hindu Kush region. This conclusion rests in part on the assumption of an original "Proto-Aryan speech, common mother tongue of all Aryan tongues," and partly on the *a priori* principle that, "Race traditions are the waymarks, the grooved furrows in the ages back of written history, which often give clue to race migrations." Here we have the assumption of an original Proto-Aryan race, for whom an original unified language is assumed; we also have an *a priori* principle laid down preparatory to the drawing of an appropriate conclusion. One should note, however, the inclusion of the word "often." This word does not prevent the drawing of the desired conclusion, but it has the great merit of enabling the author to pass over the numerous exceptions to his principle. This is seen in the paragraphs which follow its enunciation.

Thus, "Not all the Aryan peoples have such traditions of their past. The Slav seems to have none. Yet when we consider how mixed is the blood which we now call Slavic—Aryan probably,

[21] *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples,* vol. 1, *The Old World,* vol. 2, *The New World,* New York, 1907.

Ugro-Finnic and Tartar assuredly, Gothic and Germanic historically—and then overrun by successive waves of conquest and oppressed for centuries, we could scarcely expect the preservation among them of the folk-tales of the earlier race migrations. The Celt, like the Slav, has apparently no traditions of his race migrations in the past; but here also we find a mixed blood, for there are several well-marked and distinct race bloods all classed as Celtic; and the Celt, more unfortunate even than the Slav, has not even retained his race identity. . . . The Teuton also has no well-marked tradition, unless we take the epic of the Niebelungen as a vague hinting. . . . The Latin likewise, as separate from the Greek, has no known folk tradition of other land than that of the Tiber. . . . In the Greek tradition of the Dorian incoming we find a clear-cut narrative of the migration of an important division of their race blood from the north. . . . When we come to the Indo-Iranic branches of the Aryan peoples, however, the trail becomes warmer and the footprints clearer. It is down out of the north by the mountain passes of the Hindu Kush that the older Brahmin of the Hymns to the Maruts descends to the Indian plain of the Five Rivers. Etc." [22]

The object in citing this passage is not to take exception to its statements, but to bring out the vagueness of the evidence, the contradictoriness or negativeness of the facts, the assumption of essential principles of interpretation, and the blithe manner in which an argument, apparently characterized by scientific candor, is led by a tortuous path through an unknown country to its envisaged goal. It is little wonder that out of similar bits of material another surveyor would construct a different path and a different goal. While for any of them to admit that the verifiable bits of evidence constitute a maze with no entrance and no exit would be to destroy at once the thrill of exploration and the Aryan epic.

That this inconclusiveness as to homeland and physical type will not be resolved in the near future one may put down as quite certain. The very latest summary of the whole problem by V. Gordon Childe does not appear to the seasoned reader any nearer

[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 20–1.

a convincing solution than those of his predecessors of two generations ago. As to the original homeland Childe argues for South Russia. His location, therefore, is—if one neglect a few hundred miles as unimportant in so difficult a problem—much the same as Peake's or Bender's. In the course of his argument, however, he devotes an entire chapter to the refutation of the case for the North European cradle as presented in recent publications by Professor G. Kossinna.[23] Of the latter's argument Professor Childe says: "As thus presented the Germanist doctrine is the most comprehensive and consistent synthesis of Indo-European peoples that has ever been offered. It is the only doctrine the extant expositions of which can pretend to combine the results of recent archæological research with the data of philology. At the same time it is one of the fairest and certainly the most economical account of the development of a peculiarly European civilization yet propounded. Indeed, if it can prove its validity in the realm of archæology and ethnology, it will probably rank as an accurate solution of the Aryan question. In these respects, however, it is to-day not quite unassailable." [24]

Now, Kossinna's presentation of European pre-history makes the Baltic basin a center from which radiated various civilizing movements of Nordics during the period from 4500 B. C. onward and especially after 3000 B. C. But Professor Childe finds Professor Kossina's chronology rather too high by a thousand years more or less; thinks the Maglemosian skulls on which Kossinna starts his story were of uncertain date, and that the Nordic stock had east or central European antecedents rather than west European or Cro-Magnon as Kossinna posits; argues that the advances of Baltic cultures in Neolithic times were due to invaders and mariners rather than indigenous; feels certain that the battle-axes of Hungary and Troy, "which seem to us the most 'Aryan' elements there," [25] did not come from the west, but reached Europe from the east, etc. He proceeds thus to reverse the whole case on the grounds of both factual and *a priori* considerations. The

[23] Especially *Die Indogermanen,* Würzburg, 1921.
[24] Childe, *op. cit.,* p. 179.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 181.

movements which Professor Kossinna pictured as radiating from North Germany in an easterly direction Childe pictures as actually having traversed Europe in a westerly direction. Thus two very recent summaries reach diametrically opposite conclusions as to the main direction of cultural and racial movements in Europe's pre-history.

On the basis then of these latest efforts one may say that the layman has abundant grounds for skepticism as to the validity of any proposed solution of the Aryan question. One can say only that for more than a generation the prevailing opinion has been that the Indo-European languages had their beginnings in Europe. Just where or when or by whom is by no means clear and there are certain considerations which make it highly improbable that anything more than general answers can be found. In this connection one may well note certain reflections of Professor Jacques de Morgan [26] who performs the admirable feat of writing an entire work on European cultural movements and racial backgrounds without mentioning the Nordics (or was this due to his being a Frenchman?). Having just written of the successive "floods flowing slowly westwards" from Asia to Europe, he adds: "Such inferences are merely hypothetical. To-morrow, maybe, they will crumble to nothing in the presence of new discoveries." [27] He recalls that even forty years ago the important part played by Crete in the evolution of Mediterranean culture was unknown. No one can be certain that other forgotten civilizations will not come to light in the future. Only parts of Europe have been at all effectively studied by the archæologist: the merest fraction of the vast continent of Asia has been scratched over, and it will be generations before the experts can speak with confident finality regarding such great areas as Siberia, Turkistan and Mongolia. "What we know to-day is very little in comparison with what remains to be learned." [28]

To these reflections one may add one or two more. There is an undoubted revival of interest in the original homeland and the

[26] *Prehistoric Man. An Outline of Pre-history,* New York, 1925.
[27] *Op. cit.,* p. 288.
[28] *Op. cit.,* p. 296.

racial attributes of the Aryan-speaking peoples. Archæological data have been accumulating rapidly. But it would appear that fresh discoveries add as much to complexity as to clarification, when the whole prehistoric problem is taken into account. The diversity of cultures, when attention is given to details, is, however paralleled, though perhaps not equalled, by the diversity of races. Professor Childe, who speaks confidently of the Nordics as the first Aryans—an assertion for which he offers no proof, although such is doubly required of him because he rejects the Baltic homeland—is very cautious regarding racial types in general. He never describes his Nordics, except to endow them with ordinary heads but magnificent bodies. He also notes that "the Neolithic population of Europe constituted a veritable mosaic of races. Culturally still greater diversity reigned." [29]

Both cultural and racial history are thus extremely complex and apparently becoming more so. Moreover, one cannot assume that cultural and racial changes go together. While it has been a truism for a generation that race and culture are not identifiable, there is always the temptation to explain a new culture phase in any locality as due to the intrusion of a new racial element. This no doubt is sometimes the case, but considerable cultural changes are also often due to the contacts set up by voyagers, traders and small migratory bands.

In view of these reflections Childe's conclusions are interesting. He thinks the first Aryans were Nordics. At the same time he thinks their cradle-land was not around the Baltic but in South Russia. Now no one knows what the center of characterization of the Nordics was; there may well have been more than one area in which blond mutants appeared; but the Baltic basin is certainly more probable than South Russia. The Baltic has long been the area of greatest blond purity; it seems likely that the Nordic blonds could have achieved there a greater degree of isolation and hence of differentiation. We refer later to the conflicting data regarding the racial pre-history of Russia.[30] Childe admits that a considerable area is required for the cradle-land and a considerable

[29] Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[30] See pp. 57–8, 187 *et seq.*, and 272–3.

time for the incubation of the basic Aryan tongue. He also admits the probability that the early Aryan groups were far from pure in race.[31] Since, then, he makes no inquiry into the findings of physical anthropology as to the prehistoric racial types found in different areas, as does Professor R. B. Dixon,[32] his repeated assertion that the original Aryans were Nordics appears to be merely a wish fulfilment, or the extension of a large olive branch to the Germanists whose theories he otherwise opposes. A striking illustration of Childe's indifference to physical anthropology is shown by his inclusion [33] of the predominantly brachycephalic Lithuanians among his Nordics.[34] (For further discussion see below pages 189 *et seq.*)

Childe's further conclusions are summarized in the following quotation: [35]

"Thus the Aryans do appear everywhere as promoters of true progress and in Europe their expansion marks the moment when the pre-history of our continent begins to diverge from that of Africa or the Pacific.

"Perhaps disappointment has now given place to bewilderment in the reader's mind. How precisely did the Aryans achieve all this? It was not through the superiority of their material culture. We have rejected the idea that a peculiar genius resided in the conformation of Nordic skulls. We do so with all the more confidence that, by the time Aryan genius found its true expression in Greece and Rome, the pure Nordic strain had been for the most part absorbed in the Mediterranean substratum: the lasting gift bequeathed by the Aryans to the conquered peoples was neither a higher material culture nor a superior physique, but that which we mentioned in the last chapter—a more excellent language and the mentality it generated.

"At the same time the fact that the first Aryans were Nordics was not without importance. The physical qualities of that stock did enable them by the bare fact of superior strength to conquer even

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 163.
[32] *The Racial History of Man*, New York, 1923.
[33] *Op. cit.* p. 167.
[34] Cf. Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–2.

more advanced peoples and so to impose their language on areas from which their bodily type has almost completely vanished. This is the truth underlying the panegyrics of the Germanists: the Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be the vehicles of a superior language."

If now we put his argument in systematic form, it amounts to this. The Nordics, though they lived in an open country, became highly differentiated in race. They did not have any special mental endowment, and although they were sufficiently isolated to undergo special biological differentiation and were thus free from cultural contacts, they developed a language of superlative merits. They thereafter moved out of their homeland in divers directions, and although equipped with inferior arms (presumably because they were living on a lower level of culture) they conquered numerous other peoples and became the bearers and creators of high cultures in various areas. The primary reason they did this was because the marvelous language they had developed in their isolated and retarded culture enabled the peoples whom they conquered and among whom they settled to think more effectively and thus to generate a new mentality. It should be added, says Professor Childe, that the high cultures here attributed to the "Aryan genius" (which resided in ordinary brains) manifested itself in its full fruition only long after the blood of the Nordics had disappeared in a melanous sea. The self-contradictions of such a thesis are self-evident.

On the basis of this latest effort to solve the Aryan riddle one is fully warranted in saying that it still looks to-day, as in the days of Hartmann and de Mortillet, as if there was no original Aryan race, no single and original Aryan tongue, no simple homogeneous original Aryan culture and no small, closely circumscribed and relatively isolated Aryan cradle-land where race, language and culture could become specialized and definitely characterized. Rather one must imagine an historical stage something like the Roman world of much later date, but on a smaller scale and of more primitive character. Thus, out of an area of considerable extent, inhabited by a considerable variety of human types, came a variety of tribes and peoples, each far from homogeneous but differing

more or less from each other in composition, moving in different directions and at divers times, and each speaking a dialect related to those spoken by others but differentiated by the circumstances of time and place. Professor Childe in the opening pages of his work suggests an analogy of the nine or eleven branches of the Indo-European languages with the Latin derivatives, French, Spanish, Italian, Catalan, Roumanian, etc., but adds that this analogy should not be pressed too far because there never was an Aryan tongue comparable in finish, stability and extensiveness to the Latin.

If one were to press for a factual illustration of the viewpoint expressed in the preceding paragraph he could find several among the North American Indians. Whether one separate them from the Eskimos, as does Hrdlička,[36] or not, as does Boas,[37] they may be regarded as having a fundamental unity with certain Asiatic stocks. Hrdlička[38] says: "The physical resemblances between some members of the Asiatic groups and the average American Indian are such that if a member of one or the other were transplanted and his body and hair dressed like those of the tribe in the midst of which he was placed, he could not possibly be distinguished physically by any means at the command of even a scientific observer." This may seem a little extreme since the "average American Indian" would be hard to find in the concrete. He would lie somewhere between the dolichocephalic Algonquian, Iroquois, Siouan and Shoshonean and the brachycephalic Athabascans and others. Nevertheless, it is no exaggeration to argue that there has been great persistence of traits and types together with a considerable differentiation. A fundamental but broad unity has widened into a diversity which according to A. F. Chamberlain,[39] has made possible the distinction of "some twenty-one different physical types north of Mexico." Now among these people Chamberlain lists 55 linguistic stocks and notes that among some

[36] *Handbook, American Indians North of Mexico,* 1907.

[37] *Amer. Archael. Rep.,* Ontario, 1905.

[38] "The Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian," *Smithsonian Report* for 1923, p. 489.

[39] Art. "Indians, North American," *Ency. Brit.,* 11th ed. vol. 14, p. 467.

of the larger stocks, such as the Athabascan, Algonquian, Shoshonean, Siouan, Iroquoian, etc., there are "many dialects, often mutually unintelligible." [40] We may on logical and *a priori* grounds assume that each stock at one time had only a single stem, or indeed that several related stocks lived in a single tepee; but that time is unknown, that family long since forgotten, and the location of that tepee buried in the dust of the silent but changeful ages.

Such reflections indicate that the notion of an original simon-pure Aryan race of highly distinctive physical traits and of marvelous intellectual capacities, speaking a language of simple undifferentiated purity but of unexampled excellence, passes into the limbo of outworn myths. The Aryan problem remains, but in a highly complicated form involving much of the pre-history of the Eur-Asian continent during two millenniums and more.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

CHAPTER III

GOBINISM

MEANWHILE had appeared a work destined to play a more important rôle among the *idées-forces* of the last two generations than all the other Aryan speculations combined. The importance now attached to it may seem strange in view of the fact that Canon Taylor completely ignored it in his summary of 1890, that Reinach's history of the Aryan controversy of 1892 failed to mention it, as did also Ripley's famous study of European races of 1899. Although severely criticized in France by de Tocqueville for its aristocratism, its determinism and its pessimism, it was almost completely ignored in that country until after 1900 and began to attract wide attention in Germany only after its author had made the friendship of Wagner after the war of 1870. Nevertheless, it seems possible to include it as one of the imponderable factors in preparing the European psychology out of which arose the war of 1914.

As already stated, the assumption of racial superiority is a natural expression of group consciousness; it is a characteristic expression of that solidarity which springs from man's innate gregariousness; and it serves the magnificent purposes of elevating the ego and of sharpening to a fighting edge attitudes of heroic devotion. It has played and will continue to play a leading part in the group struggle for existence and power, and however fallacious may be its foundations some form of it seems essential for group survival. It is an expression of the will to live and a vital factor in that faith which enables the average normal person to face the uncertainties of life with courage and confidence. For the typically loyal mind it needs no labored proof; superficial differences constitute its self-evident demonstration. When, therefore, the

doctrine is accepted by scholars in consequence of a vast array of evidence, and becomes the working basis for poets, editors, politicians, diplomats and statesmen, its influence on national conduct may prove momentous. Hence the work of Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) has great historical significance. His four-volume *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines,* put out in 1853–5, proclaiming the superiority of the white over the colored races, came at a time when the great interest in the origins of the Aryans lent added zest to the romantic doctrines of the comparative philologists.[1] As Jean Finot[2] says: "French by origin and German by adoption, Gobineau had the incomparable honor and glory of inspiring many writers and savants and thus of influencing in a vivid way the life of a whole people."

The key to Gobineau's sociological theory is expressed in his "Dedication" to George V of Hanover where, telling of his efforts to arrive at an understanding of history, he says: "Passing from one induction to another, I was gradually penetrated by the conviction that the racial question overshadows all other problems in history, that it holds the key to them all, and that the inequality of the races from whose fusion a people is formed is enough to explain the whole course of its destiny." He was thus led to a study of the origins and history of the stronger races and concludes: "I convinced myself at last that everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth, in science, art, and civilization, derives from a single starting point; it belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe.

He thus sought a grand and sweeping philosophy of history. But we shall see that, like all such, it contained its own contradictions, as well as its allotted proportion of obscurities and of those metaphysical lapses from scientific description whereby so many brilliant minds deceive themselves. His principal problem was to explain why civilizations rise and why they fall, and in the begin-

[1] The first volume has been translated by A. Collins: *The Inequality of Human Races,* New York, 1914; page references below are to this translation, except where *Essai* is indicated.

[2] *Race Prejudice,* London, 1906, p. 9.

ning of his treatise he advances his theory for the latter. After the manner of Spinoza, Montaigne and Voltaire before him, he deemed it expedient to pay occasional lip service to religious orthodoxy, so he opines that nations may perish because God wills it or because they are sinful (p. 5), but recovering his vigorous skepticism he adds that, nevertheless, irreligion, luxury, corruption of morals and bad government do not necessarily lead to a decline in civilization. Nevertheless, they decline because of a common ailment which affects them one and all (Ch. I, II and III). Nations and societies decline because of a degeneration of their hereditary qualities and this degeneracy is induced by a mixture of racial elements. "Societies perish because they are degenerate and for no other reason." "The word *degenerate,* when applied to a people, means that the people has no longer the same intrinsic value as it had before, because it has no longer the same blood in its veins, continual adulterations having gradually affected the quality of that blood." A civilization "will certainly die on the day when the primordial race-unit is so broken up and swamped by the influx of foreign elements, that its effective qualities have no longer a sufficient freedom of action" (pp. 24–5). Civilization arises only where one race has conquered another. But conquest enables "a nation, which itself lacks vigor and power to share a new and a better destiny—that of the strong masters into whose hands it has fallen" (p. 30). New conquests follow the first; wealth grows with power; trade and commerce arise; aliens flock to the towns and cities of the civilized area. Now, "a sovereign people, with the usual strong propensities of such a people to cross its blood with another's," fuses rapidly with the inferior. Race distinctions give place to manifold social castes; finally aristocracy and conscious race superiority give way to the degeneracy of democracy and a sense of equality. Although "the white race originally possessed the monopoly of beauty, intelligence and strength, by its union with other varieties hybrids were created, which were beautiful without strength, strong without intelligence, or, if intelligent, both weak and ugly." "Peoples degenerate only in consequence of the various admixtures of blood which they undergo" and "their degeneration corresponds exactly to the quantity and

quality of the new blood" (pp. 209–11). The institutions created by the powerful race may sustain the civilization for a time, but in the end it falls into decay because the blood which created it and all its institutions has been decimated by war and diluted by that of an alien horde.

Here then we have the essence of Gobineau's philosophy of history. The supreme race among men is the Aryan, of which the Germans are the purest modern representative. All civilizations have sprung from conquests of weaker peoples by Aryans; and all have declined when the Aryan blood became diluted by intermarriage.

At the basis of Gobineau's system are his classification and characterization of the races and his theory of their fixed and immutable inheritance of their differences. He wavered between the acceptance of the theory of the unitary as against the theory of the multiple origin of man, but assumed that all races are as different from their common ancestor, if they had one, as they are from each other (Chap. X, XI and XII). Allowing only 7,000 years between creation and the birth of Christ, he had great difficulty in accounting for the differentiation of man into many diverse types. In the absence of any acceptable theory of evolution, he assumed that for some time after the appearance of man, apparently by special creation, and while the earth was still young the action of climatic forces was much more violent than subsequently. During this period of violence man differentiated into types which, in the absence of crossing, remained permanently fixed (Ch. XII). He derived the black races, the lowest in his estimation, from Africa, the yellow from America, whence they spread across Asia to Europe, and the white from the Hindu Kush region of Asia. The inequalities of the races are inherent; they are independent of social institutions; the habitat does not create them.

As regards the dominant traits of the three races, the black represents passion, the yellow, mediocrity in everything, and the white, god-like reason. The negroid variety is animal-like, has highly developed senses but poor reasoning powers, is gluttonous, capricious and careless of life, and yet is the source of human lyricism and artistic temperament. It typifies the feminine among

the races of man. The yellow man is apathetic, stubborn, having feeble desires and lacking in physical energy, uninventive, obstinate. He loves utility, respects order, knows the value of a limited amount of freedom and is gifted with a sense of practicality. He typifies the masculine. "The yellow races are thus clearly superior to the black. Every founder of a civilization would wish the backbone of his society, his middle class, to consist of such men" (p. 206). The whites excel in most physical, mental and moral qualities. In fact the qualities of the races are artistically, even if artificially, proportioned by Gobineau. If the temperament of the black race is hot and that of the yellow cold, that of the white is temperate; if the black represents the sense without reason, and the yellow the reason without passion, the white is endowed with a reason rendered flexible and adaptable by energy, generosity, and a full realization of the significance of opportunity; if the blacks prefer extreme individualism, even anarchy, with its counterpoise in despotism, and the yellow prefer democracy, humanitarianism and the communism of the bee-hive, the political genius of the whites expresses itself in liberalism, feudalism, parliamentarism, and benevolent imperialism. No doubt one would need to choose his examples carefully to make them fit this subjective analysis, but so diverse appears the national character of every group at different periods that examples to fit any analysis could be found.

Moreover, the whites excel in physical beauty. "The tall and nobly proportioned figure of Charlemagne, the intellectual regularity of the features of Napoleon, and the imposing majesty that exhales from the royal countenance of Louis XIV" represent the apex of proportion and dignity; though the critic would find here a striking case of reasoning from the special to the general. "The peoples who are not of white blood approach beauty, but do not attain it." And of all known racial blends the happiest, "from the point of view of beauty, is that made by the marriage of white and black" (p. 151). But here the critic would ask what constitutes the objective standard of physical beauty? Likewise as regards physical strength: "We shall have to give the palm to those who belong to the white race" (pp. 151–2). But not all whites are equal in strength for, "In strength of fist the English

are superior to all other European races; while the French and Spanish have a greater power of resisting fatigue and privation, as well as the inclemency of extreme climates" (p. 152); an assertion which, like much else in the literature of race differences, is an excellent example of the erection of personal impression or local tradition into a conclusion of science.

The whites are also superior intellectually, as shown by their "reflective energy" or "energetic intelligence"; "a perseverance that takes account of obstacles and ultimately finds a way to overcome them"; "an extraordinary instinct for order." "At the same time, they have a remarkable, and even extreme, love of liberty, and are openly hostile to the formalism under which the Chinese are glad to vegetate, as well as to the strict despotism which is the only way of governing the negro." "The white races are, further, distinguished by an extraordinary attachment to life. They know better how to use it, and so, as it would seem, set a greater price on it." "When they are cruel, they are conscious of their cruelty; it is very doubtful whether such a consciousness exists in the negro" (p. 207); to which let the lynchings in our American states be a rejoinder. "The principal motive is honor," a word which "is unknown to both the yellow and the black man." "On the other hand, the immense superiority of the white peoples in the whole field of the intellect is balanced by an inferiority in the intensity of their sensations" (*ibid.*); an interesting example of the old psychological notion that a high development of the senses necessarily implied a deficient development of the reasoning powers, and *vice versa*. In fact, he expressly enunciates this doctrine (note, p. 181).

What then were the branches of the white race? They were named after the sons of Noah and were in their original basis, "Chamatique, Semitique et Japhetide." It was one branch of the last who constituted the true Aryans. The first to push out, or be pushed out, from the ancestral home in the Hindu Kush plateau were the children of Cham (Ham). They founded a somewhat mythical Nimrodian empire in Mesopotamia but were soon submerged in an ocean of dark blood. They were followed by the sons of Shem who reared the civilizations of Nineveh, Tyre and

Carthage, but likewise succumbed to the enveloping dark-skinned peoples. Thereafter Gobineau uses the term Semitic to describe a mixture of white and black, just as he prefers the term Celtic for the white-yellow combination, illustrated also by the Slavs, and Malay for the yellow-black. Finally there moved out from the homeland of races the *Japhetides* toward Europe, whither they were followed by the non-Aryan Celts and Slavs. Gobineau identified the true Aryans with the Aryas of India, the Iranians, the Hellenes and the Sarmates, or ancestral Germans. These last were the saviours and regenerators of the decadent Roman civilization and their descendants, the present leaders and rulers of the world. We may note here that Gobineau is negligent in his description of the physical traits of the true Aryans. His followers made them tall with blue eyes, blond hair, and long heads; but Gobineau, who felt himself to be the embodiment of their heaven-born traits but whose brown eyes evidence some impurity, sometimes gave this super-race round heads and sometimes long, with eyes usually light, but sometimes brown or even black. He thus utilized that license to which his character as poet and idealistic philosopher entitled him.

What then was the part played by the true Aryans in the drama of civilization's rise and fall? The history of the world, he finds, reveals ten civilizations. "If there is any element of life in these ten civilizations that is not due to the impulse of the white races, any need of death that does not come from the inferior stocks that mingled with them, then the whole theory on which this book rests is false." Of these ten civilizations seven arose in the Old World and all of these but one were due to the Aryans. The Indian civilization was clearly so: the Egyptian "was created by an Aryan colony from India." The Chinese civilization began with the invasion of an Aryan colony from India later reinforced by a non-Hindoo Aryan branch from the north-west. The Greek civilization was due to Aryans plus Semites, and the Roman to Aryans plus Celts, Iberians and Semites. Of Old World civilizations only the Assyrian was not clearly due to the Aryans. It was due to the great white invasions of the descendants of Shem and Ham. But in this connection it should be noted that the Medes,

Persians and Bactrians, the Iranians with Zoroastrian cult who long ruled in western Asia, who created the Iranian Renaissance, the most brilliant period in Assyrian history, were Aryans (pp. 210–2). Finally, the western European culture is the unique product of the Germanic races. "Where the Germanic element has never penetrated our special kind of civilization does not exist" (p. 93). The New World civilizations, the Alleghenian, the Mexican and the Peruvian were considered inferior, and scantily treated by Gobineau; but even they were believed to have derived their creative elements from Aryans. In fact, civilization without an Aryan creator is as impossible in the thought of Gobineau as a people of harsh and cruel disposition in a genial climate in the thought of a geographical determinist.

So much then for a rough outline of some of the scaffolding of Gobineau's system of thought. The essence of his system will be found, however, not in his theory of Aryan superiority so much as in his theory of the effects of race mixture. We are here so close to the heart of his theory that his own exposition demands further elucidation. He has just laid it down that tribes, mostly yellows and blacks, in all parts of the world, living under all conditions of soil and climate, seem to be struck with a sort of paralysis which prevents their taking the first step toward civilization (pp. 26–7). And why? Because they "cannot overcome the natural repugnance, felt by men and animals alike, to a crossing of blood." "These are incapable of civilization" (p. 2). There are other groups that can overcome this repugnance to some extent. They wage a war of conquest and set up a small but stagnant nation. "Others, more imaginative and energetic," conquer a wider territory and form a greater nation. Thus while "the human race in all its branches has a secret repulsion from the crossing of blood" and none can wholly rid himself of it, those who succeed most fully "are the only members of our species who can be civilized at all" (pp. 29–30).

In other words we do not have as the primary principle in Gobineau's theory of the rise of civilization the doctrine of purity of races with which he is usually credited. Quite the contrary, those races which have such a powerful tribal instinct that they

isolate themselves are incapable of civilization. Mixture of races is the *sine qua non* of the upward march from savagery to culture. In order to figure in the creation of a great state, a race must have not only energy and imagination, but ability to overcome that powerful repugnance for mingling its blood with that of another race with which all races of men are endowed.

But Gobineau's exposition is not free from contradiction; we may neglect its obnoxious metaphysics. It seems that there is not only a law of repulsion but a law of attraction. Mankind lives in obedience to these laws, which act with different force on different peoples (p. 30). Now a strong race having overcome its repugnance for race crossing and having conquered a weaker one which henceforth will share a new and better destiny, straightway begins to fuse with the latter. "A picked race of men, a sovereign people, *with the usual strong propensities of such a people to cross its blood with another's,* finds itself henceforth in close contact with a race whose inferiority is shown, not only by defeat, but also by the lack of the attributes which may be seen in the conquerors" (p. 30).

We may pause here in the quotation to note the contradiction contained in the statement, "the usual strong propensities of such a people to cross its blood with another's." This is utterly irreconcilable with the primary postulate of a "secret repulsion," unless one assume that the "secret repulsion" operates only before conquest and the "strong propensities" only after. The matter has a somewhat general bearing on the question of the historical rôle of races because a certain number of advocates of the superiority of the blond dolichocephal attribute to him the aforesaid "secret repulsion" which has prevented him from producing such mestizo populations as are found in countries once subject to Spanish or Portugese rule. We are not here concerned with the validity of this claim as tested by historical fact, but rather with the disagreement among the authorities as to the operation of the racial factor. The followers of Gobineau have uniformly attributed the civilizing capacity to one race and the decline of civilization to race mixture. Gobineau himself did so, and this seems to have been his most frequent intention. On the other hand he frequently

states, as in passages just cited, that race purity is sterile and stagnant while race crossing is fecund and progressive.

Thus if we continue the last quotation we find the following: "From the very day the conquest is accomplished and the fusion begins, there appears a noticeable change of quality in the blood of the masters. If there were no other modifying influence at work, then at the end of a number of years . . . we should be confronted with a new race, less powerful certainly than the better of its two ancestors, but still of considerable strength. It would have developed special qualities resulting from the actual mixture, and unknown to the communities from which it sprang" (p. 31).

This last sentence is an important admission. It implies that, though the mixed population may lack some of the strength—by which one may suppose he meant the aggressive energy of the conquering race,—it reveals new and special qualities which must play an important rôle in subsequent history. It might be possible, therefore, for one to find in Gobineau the basis for the thesis that it is precisely the biological creativeness of race mixture that makes civilization possible because it produces the qualities essential thereto.

This, indeed, is precisely what can be found by search. Not only does our author state that race crossing produces new and special qualities, he admits that civilizations would have been less rich in cultural achievements without them. "It would be unjust," he says, "to assert that every mixture is bad and harmful. If the three great types had remained strictly separate, the supremacy would no doubt have always been in the hands of the finest of the white races, etc. But it would have been bought at the price of certain advantages which have followed the mixture of blood." Thus, "Artistic genius, which is equally foreign to each of the three great types, arose only after the intermarriage of white and black." Egypt and Assyria were too black, while Greece had the exact dosage of black blood to make it supreme in art and literature. The Malayan people, composed of yellow and black crosses, is superior intellectually to either ancestor. But in gen-

eral hybridization lowers the superior race and brings a chain of consequences that nothing can balance or repair (pp. 208–9).

These and other passages indicate Gobineau's reluctant admission of certain, at least temporary, advantages from race mixture. If "artistic genius," from which the worlds of art and literature spring, is a special creation of hybridization; if in certain crosses there is an augmentation of intellectual capacities, one begins to wonder whether racial advance, as well as the development of civilization, may not result from suitable race mixtures. Mr. Ernest Sellière, who has made a very thorough study of all of Gobineau's principal writings, finds the racial theory of the sources of the artistic temperament extremely illuminating in view of Gobineau's own devotion to poetry, music and sculpture, although claiming for himself pure Aryan descent, free from any Negroid admixture. "Without cessation Gobineau thus appears to give and then take back by turns concessions forced for an instant from his Nordic convictions by his southern temperament." [3]

There was, therefore, at the very center of Gobineau's philosophy a neubulosity and contradictoriness which cannot be resolved. He seemed to be the great exponent of racial purity, but he made race crossing the essential foundation of all civilizations. He also made it the source of racial degeneration and cultural decline, though arguing that it had meanwhile produced fresh qualities of human genius and fertilized the latent capacities of all the ingredient races.

In his own metaphysical terms, the contradiction in his theory grows out of the oppositions between the "law of repulsion" and the "law of attraction." The former expresses the "natural repugnance" which would keep races pure but deprive civilization of its originating and vitalizing force; the latter expresses the "strong propensities" which impel races to cross and in so doing both creates and destroys civilization. The only possible reconciliation of these views is to cease emphasis on race purity and find in race

[3] E. Sellière, *Le Comte de Gobineau et l'Aryanisme historique,* Paris, 1903, pp. 42–3. The same point is picturesquely expressed by Élie Faure. "Gobineau et le problème des races," *Europe,* Oct. 1, 1923.

crossing the key to the historical riddle. In final analysis Gobineau says that civilization is created by the right amount of race mixture and destroyed by too much. One crossing of races is absolutely essential; a second is likely to prove an evil, while a third starts a people on the road to destruction. Perhaps it is best to reflect with Renan that, "If one is to be a true philosopher, he must inure himself to contradictions." At least readers of Gobineau and his followers will do well to recall the reflection.

One may go a step farther in searching for inconsistencies and find in his philosophy not only a racial interpretation of history but also an inkling at least of what has come to be the cultural interpretation as well. There can be no doubt that his intention was to make cultural elements the expression of hereditary racial qualities. The thesis of chapter fourteen is that, as civilizations result only from race mixture they reflect the qualities of the racial combinations which produce them and are as distinctive and mutually antagonistic as their creators. In the preceding chapter, he lays it down that man's inherent capacities are not only fixed but limited; that Christianity neither creates nor changes the capacity for civilization; and that the heights attained by the greatest civilizations of the past will not be surpassed in quality in the present or future, though to some extent cultural elements may for some time accumulate in quantity. In the fifteenth chapter he argues that languages are unequal in development and may be arranged in an order revealing the respective ranks of the races using them. "I may thus lay it down, as a universal axiom, that the hierarchy of languages is in strict correspondence with the hierarchy of races" (p. 204).

There is an even more interesting passage toward the close of Book IV [4] in which, having laid it down that history is a natural science, that it is subject to the operation of inevitable laws and that no one is entitled to praise or blame for what occurs, he enters on a discussion of what he considers the three primary factors in history, the great man or the prince, the self-willed political center,

[4] *Essai*, vol. 2, pp. 540–9.

and the dominating cultural trend. The great man is only a transitory agent. "A political center, otherwise called a people, has its own passions and intelligence," "a being as real as if one saw it solidified into a single being." And yet it is the third factor which envelopes all and operates as the final determinant. This is the social mind, an intangible magnetic force which permeates the whole social group and makes both leader and people its agents. It is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine. "It imposes on populations their mode of existence."

As one reads these pages, one has the startling sensation of having run across a passage from some recent advocate of the psycho-sociological or cultural deterministic interpretation of history. But the mystery is soon resolved for a few sentences further on Gobineau declares this all-enveloping and all-powerful social mind to be itself "always subject to the operation of ethnic factors."

On the other hand, there are various passages which might be interpreted as a theory that a high civilization breaks down and starts on its decline in consequence of the increasing confusion of elements, not only racial but also cultural, which it gradually accumulates. Take, for example, this passage just at the close of Book I.:

> "The rudest possible shock to the vitality of a civilization is given when the ruling elements in a society and those developed by racial change become so numerous that they are clearly moving away from the homogeneity necessary to their life and it therefore becomes impossible for them to be brought into harmony and so acquire the common instincts and interests, the common logic of existence, which is the sole justification for any social bond whatever. There is no greater curse than such disorder, for however bad it may have made the present state of things, it promises still worse for the future."

These sentences contain two possibly contradictory explanations of the decline of a civilization. One finds the cause in racial degeneration resulting from hybridization; the other in a clash of institutions and traditions, of cultures, in consequence of the commingling of ethnic groups. These are not necessarily one and

the same. Ferrero [5] finds that the rise of Christianity was accompanied by a disintegration of ancient pagan faiths in the Roman Empire and that this carried with it a decline in social morale and cohesion which led inevitably to the sundering of the unity and power of the Empire. A disruption or confusion of such culture might happen in the absence of any decline in racial quality. In speaking of the decline of Rome, Gobineau himself says, "The mixture of nations brought with it a mixture of civilizations" and he emphasizes the increasing diversity of religious and political ideas, the decrease in stability and the increased tampering with the institutions of which the civilization was founded. (Ch. IX.) "Thus, below what we might call the social classes, lived innumerable multitudes who had a different civilization from that of the official world, or were not civilized at all"; so that a certain civilization remains temporarily dominant, not through the convictions of the peoples under it, but because of their weakness and indifference (pp. 94–5). It must be clear that this theory of the Roman decline, if it be not wholly social, is a combination of social and racial viewpoints and shows how the founder of modern racial determinism found it impossible in last analysis to separate cultural from biological factors.

If for the moment we neglect its contradictions, a brief analysis of Gobineau's theory of the significance of race and race mixture will show that it involves a number of disputable propositions. It assumes (1) that racial traits are fixed and immutable and have been inherited in an unchanging fashion since shortly after creation; and (2) that there are essential differences of a specialized sort between the races, making it possible to rank the white above the yellow and black races, and the Aryan branch of the whites above all other branches in capacity for civilization. It assumes (3) that the conquering race is pure; (4) that it must be Aryan; and (5) that conquest is an evidence of superiority of natural endowment. It assumes (6) that the outburst of activity following upon conquest is due to the quality of the conquering pure race rather than to any psychological force growing out of race contacts

[5] *The Ruin of the Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*, New York, 1921.

or the cross-fertilization of cultures; and (7) that the character of the cultural products is determined precisely by the racial ingredients. But at this point Gobineau becomes hopelessly inconsistent because he finds that under the enlarging opportunities of an advancing civilization aliens of varied breed ascend to positions of wealth and power. Evidently the superlative Aryans did not possess all the genius. Later versions of this doctrine attribute to the Anglo-Saxons an especial gift for government and the administration of justice and liberty through law; but even in England, peopled by purest Anglo-Saxons, the despised Jew has become prime minister, lord chief justice, lord-mayor of London, viceroy of India and what not.

The theory assumes (8) that the continuance of cultural advance is also purely racial and due to the continued purity of a part of the original stock, and not due in part to purely cultural factors or to a special vigor arising from the crossing of races. It likewise assumes (9) that the subsequent decline in culture is due to racial mixture with consequent decline of racial genius, though the theory adds at this point the assumption of racial decay through disgenic selection, that is, the decimation of the aristocratic race through war and the risks of leadership. The author had previously rejected the popular notion that the decline of a civilization was to be explained by fanaticism, luxury, corruption of morals, irreligion or bad government; like Henry Thomas Buckle,[6] who wrote at nearly the same time, he thought these symptoms rather than causes and capable of exercising only a slight or even negligible effect on the course of a society's development; he found that in every nation's history, periods of considerable corruption were followed by periods of great advancement or were even synchronous with remarkable outbursts of creative productivity in art, literature

[6] But Buckle was far from accepting Gobineau's general position. He said: "While such original distinctions of race are altogether hypothetical the discrepancies which are caused by difference of climate, food and soil, are capable of a satisfactory explanation." He adds in a note that racial differences "may or may not exist but (which) most assuredly have never been proved." (*History of Civilization in England,* New York, 1864, vol. 1, pp. 29–30.)

and other fields of human achievement. In staking nearly his whole case on the beneficent effects of a superposition of races or the deleterious effects of hybridization, Gobineau uttered a dogma which became and still is dear to the heart of many a racial determinist, but which we are now in a position to view in a more scientific and less passionate light. We shall find some grounds for supposing that race crossing is in itself a factor in biological vigor. Moreover, one should make a sharp distinction between the effects of race crossing as such and the changes in quality due to the dying out of the superior strains within the group. Race purity can be shown to be a negligible factor if eugenic measures assure the continued fertility of the best stirps and the infertility of the poorest. Race crossing itself appears vastly less important than the qualities of the individuals crossed.

Moreover, when Gobineau asserts: "I can say positively that a people will never die if it remains composed of the same national elements," he merely states a dogma; it is not even obvious that a stock will go on unchanged if it never crosses, for it may reproduce unequally from the different elements it contains. One must reckon also with possible mutations as also with possible degeneration through close in-breeding. But the statement is meaningless in the world of historical fact, for war and conquest are an essential part of any group that helps to make history, and these involve a crossing of racial strains. It is indeed surprising in view of Gobineau's fundamental dogmas to note how frequently, especially in the second volume, books five and six dealing with Roman and West European civilizations, he concedes that conquering "Aryan" tribes were already more or less mixed. Almost all the noble German stocks were polluted by Celtic or Finnic blood even at their earliest appearance in historical records. Indeed, "the Aryan family, and much more so all other branches of the white stock, had ceased to be absolutely pure as early as the birth of Christ." [7]

It is often stated that in writing the *Essai* Gobineau was motivated fundamentally by an insistent personal egotism rather

[7] *Essai,* vol. 2, p. 562.

than by the scientist's dispassionate search for understanding. But who can escape the personal bias? There seems little ground for impugning his sincerity. Mere personal vanity and the inevitable implications of his mental prepossessions are sufficient to explain his most obvious lapses from candor. Though descended from a moderately successful bourgeois family of the 17th and 18th centuries, he made a heroic and fantastic attempt to establish his claim to nobility in his *Histoire d'Ottar Jarl, Pirate Norvégien, conquerant du pays de Bray en Normandie, et de sa descendance,* which he published in his old age (1879) after many years of elaboration. This is, in fact, a sort of life-long reverie, an escape from the realities of his humble merchandizing forebears, a compensatory rationalization, in which is displayed all the subtlety and constructive imagination of a fertile mind. In a letter to Mme. Wagner, December, 1880, he states that the *Essai* was written in consequence of researches begun on the history of his family and that it was written in part to prove scientifically the superiority of his own race.[8] In a passage in the *Ottar Jarl* he states that it continues his *Essai* and his *Historie des Perses* "which were written only to serve as prefaces."[9] This family history may cause one to laugh at his weakness for so vain a foible, or to denounce him as an impostor, but in neither case do we escape the necessity of examining the validity of his main contentions regarding the inequality of races. It seems probable, moreover, that his influence in Germany was increased by this fairy-tale of his direct descent in the male line from a Teutonic noble, dwelling in the sacred precincts of Asgard.[10]

In any case, it is clear that Gobineau impressed the French anthropologists and publicists less than the German; but it is also clear that he was one of several agencies instrumental in creating

[8] Maurice Lange, *Le Comte Arthur de Gobineau. Etude biographique et critique,* Strasburg, 1924, p. 119.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 205.

[10] On this point consult J. M. Hone, *"Arthur, Count of Gobineau, Race Mystic," Contemp. Rev.,* vol. 104, 1913, pp. 94–103; R. Dreyfus, *La vie et les prophéties du Comte de Gobineau,* Paris, 1905; and especially Ernest Sellière, *Le Comte de Gobineau,* Livre III.

a rivalry of scholars of different nationality to prove the identity of themselves and their fellow country-men with the Aryan aristocracy who alone had the genius to create civilization. The world of scholars rang with the eager claims of many discordant theorists. The nationalistic bias and a stubborn unwillingness to yield a position in the face of accumulating evidence were all too manifest. The extremely complex and often painfully scanty evidences from philology, archæology, and anthropology were eagerly surveyed and arrayed as proof of this theory here and that theory there. With the accumulation of data showing beyond peradventure of doubt that even the older populations of Europe had been composed of several racial types and that the peoples speaking any and every branch of Aryan were of different anthropological stocks, and questions of who were the original, the pure and unadulterated Aryans and what was their original homeland became at once more important and more insoluble. When it was made clear that in some way a considerable number of Aryan tongues had been adopted and adapted by racially different peoples, much as the various Romance languages to-day represent adoptions and adaptations of ancient Latin, the way was open for each nation to find in its own antecedents the original sources of the wonder-working race.[11]

[11] See Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, pp. 124–8 and 454–6.

CHAPTER IV

TEUTONISM

Gobineau's historical importance is doubtless due to his pre-war vogue in Germany. He has since become a sort of prophet for Frenchmen as well.[1] But the fact that the Germans had from the first used the term Indo-Germanic instead of the broader term Indo-European, in addition to the fact that the doctrine of the blond Aryan would naturally be pleasing to them, made it almost inevitable that the doctrines of Gobineau would receive a warmer welcome there than elsewhere, and accounts in large part for the growth of the Gobineau cult in Germany. Why should not the race vanity of a people have been touched by such utterances as these: "Where the Germanic element has never penetrated, our special kind of civilization does not exist"; it was "the Germanic races which in the fifth century transformed the Western mind"; they were "a race of princes," the aristocratic race of Teutonic blood which created the art, literature and politics of the Western world? The *Essai* in last analysis must be recognized as a prose epic, a story of heroic adventure and achievement under a form demanded by scientific taste. It is no exaggeration to say that the popularization and expansion of these doctrines into the Teutonic myth made them factors in the growth of race vanity, the mounting spirit of imperialism and haughty domination manifested in Germany increasingly after 1890, and thus made them one of the many factors leading to the Great War.

Littérateur and mystic as he was rather than scientist, Gobineau's poetical and prophetic fancy foresaw a gradual recession of all capacity for civilization in an increasing commingling of the races.

[1] See *Europe. Revue Mensuelle. Numéro Consacré au Comte de Gobineau,* Oct. 1, 1923.

Thus the glorious chapters of the Aryan epopee closed in pessimistic lament over a degenerescence against which no hope could avail. In the remote past the Aryan race in its unalloyed purity had been as gods; even in the succeeding age of heroes their purity was only slightly tarnished; but after the age of princes, when it had everywhere become more or less hybrid, there were no pure sources from which its pristine vigor and power could be renewed.[2] The German race was the last of the Aryans but they were being gradually swallowed up in the sea of race amalgamation.

Some hope for the immediate future might be placed in the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and America. In England they have created certainly not the most brilliant nor the most human, nor yet the most noble of the European states, but one that is still the most vigorous.[3] But the English are rapidly undergoing decay as are also their descendants in America.[4] These latter have no doubt whatever of their innate superiority to the rest of mankind and seem to have an insatiable thirst to rule, to possess, to seize and to extend dominion. Their climacteric year has not yet arrived, and yet the hand of fate is upon them for already they have been invaded by a great mass of heterogeneous racial elements, Irish, mixed Germans, French, Italians. There is no prospect of America's racial regeneration but only of her progressive degeneration.[5]

Thus a sort of *crepuscule des dieux* still faintly lingered to cast a weird but entrancing light over the Germanic recreation of civilization in the western world, but ere long all would be plunged into an irretrievable darkness. The history of humanity Gobineau likened to a mountain range where the peaks are the civilizations; or better still, to a vast fabric for which the two inferior branches of the human race, the black and the yellow, furnish the heavy basis, the cotton and the wool, with which the secondary branches of the white stock mingle their silk; "while the Aryans, interweaving their still finer threads across the ennobled generations,

[2] *Essai,* vol. 2, p. 560.
[3] *Essai,* vol. 2, p. 467.
[4] *Ibid.,* Chap. VIII.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 530–538.

apply to the surface, after the manner of a dazzling masterpiece, their arabesques of silver and gold." [6] But there was no more pure gold among the races of men and the end of all human adventure was in sight. Estimating that the total length of man's existence on the globe from his first appearance to his final exit at 12,000 to 14,000 years, of which one-half had already been lived, and finding in religion no guarantee of an earthly eternity, Gobineau foresaw the finale of the human episode after a few thousand years of increasing degeneracy and decimation.[7] All of which appealed mightily to the likewise poetical and mystical spirit of Wagner, who also believed in a steady degeneration since the ages of gods and heroes, but who sought, not a new renaissance, but a real regeneration.

But here must be noted one of those contradictions which is one of the most characteristic and most puzzling features of the vast literature of Aryanism and its descendant doctrines. Gobineau took numerous occasions to deny the identity of his heroic Germans (les Germains) with the modern Germans (les Allemands). *"Les Allemands ne sont pas d'essence germanique."* He even placed the German people below the French in racial value because he thought them more mixed. Sellière points out [8] that in later works Gobineau likewise denied that the blood of the Germans of Tacitus was as abundant in Germany as was popularly thought. He found no nation which truly belonged to the race that had created the European civilizations, but thought that, if any nation might lay claim to purest descent, it was England, the land of the Anglo-Saxons, who had been partially saved from corruption by their insularity. If one raise in connection with the literature of race superiority Shakespeare's query, "What's in a name?" he must answer, "Everything or nothing depending on your point of view." In one's own country the disparagement of the claims of patriotic sentiment are either readily disproven or scornfully condemned.

Thus, in the face of the obvious flattery of Germanic blood,

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 539.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 563.
[8] *Houston-Stewart Chamberlain*, pp. 51–2.

most German thought ignored Gobineau's unredeemed pessimism as well as his direct repudiation of themselves because irretrievably corrupted by race adulteration. German scholars and statesmen alike, confusing a name with reality, swelled with race pride, and made Gobineau an important figure in the history of nineteenth century thought. In the history of ideas importance often attaches less to their truth than to their influence. Their origins may be lost in obscurity, but if they become widely accepted and active parts of popular tradition or ruling class policy, they may become significant factors in great events. Witness the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the anarchic individualism of the natural rights philosophy in the days of the American and French Revolutions.

It was easy and under the circumstances inevitable that the German scholars and people should rather completely surrender to the enticements of an identification of race and culture. Even before these ideas became fixed in the German national consciousness, however, the expert anthropologists, ethnologists and philologists, including some of those of Germany, were agreed that, as Ripley says: "All attempts to correlate the linguistic data with those derived from physical characteristics are not only illogical and unscientific; they are at the same time impossible and absurd." [9] But the doctrine of German superiority was flattering to those in power; it was flattering to national conceit; it became an effective instrument of political preferment, and in consequence flourished beyond all imaginings. Largely through the zeal of Richard Wagner, who may be said to have "made" Count Gobineau, and who gave great attention to the latter's views in the *Bayreuther Blaetter,* begun in 1878, and also through the "Gobineau Vereinigung," founded at Freiburg in 1894 with Professor Ludwig Schemann as president, the doctrine of divinely-ordained Germanic superiority became a virtual religious cult. Nietzsche, who evidently came into direct personal contact with him, was greatly influenced by Gobineau's theory of the blond super-man, though he nowhere in his writings mentions Gobineau. In fact,

[9] *Op. cit.,* p. 454.

it is Nietzsche, rather than Wagner, according to Sellière, who must be looked upon as the truest disciple of the Gascon evangelist of the gospel of Germanic aristocracy.[10]

Only a few of the scholarly collaborators to this end can be mentioned here. Among the most important should be mentioned Theodore Pösche and Carl Penka. These writers are notable for having given a decided anthropological turn to the Aryan question, which had until then been primarily philological. In his *Die Arier*[11] Pösche made the tall, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, and heavily bearded people the true Aryans. These he found nearly everywhere, "from the Atlantic to Lake Baikal and the Indus; the southern shore of the North Sea is their center of diffusion."[12] He made the Rokitno Marshes, between Vilna and Kiev, the spot of origin on the ground that depigmentation occurs there; and while he considered the Lithuanians, a brachycephalic people, an extant remnant of the original stock, he was most positive in his assertion that the tall, fair-skinned, blue-eyed Germans were the only possessors of both an Aryan language and pure Aryan blood. At the same time he poured scorn upon those French Aryanists who had presumed to find in a short, dark people the original Aryans. He thus joined the ranks of those who

[10] For the relationships here suggested, see the remarkably thorough studies of Ernest Sellière, especially his *Introduction à la philosophie de l'imperialism,* Paris, 1911; and *Houston-Stewart Chamberlain, Le plus récent philosophe du pangermanisme mystique,* Paris, 1917. Also Lange, *op. cit.,* pp. 277–8. Schemann has collected a considerable quantity of data on the history and influence of Gobineau in his *Gobineaus Rassenwerk, Aktenstuke und Betrachtungen zur Geschichte und Kritik des "Essai sur l'inégalite des races humaines,"* Stuttgart, 1910, in his *Gobineau und die Deutsche Kulture,* Leipzig, 1910, and his *Gobineau, eine Biographie,* 2 vols., Strasburg, 1913 and 1916. Schemann became the literary executor of Gobineau. He devoted himself exclusively to a study of an extensive collection of letters and papers which were ceded to the university of Strasburg in 1903 and for which special archives were established at the university in 1907. The study of Gobineau by Maurice Lange, already referred to, is a post-war product of an effort by French scholars to utilize this collection.

[11] Jena, 1878.

[12] Quoted by Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race,* p. 9.

were finding the original homestead somewhere in Europe and lent strength to the belief in the supremacy of the dolicho-blond.[13]

Penka's two works on the origins of the Aryans [14] were written from like assumptions. He argued that there must have been an original Aryan race; that it must have been much less extensive than the Aryan languages; and that the blonds of Scandinavia and North Germany represent the purest Aryan type. From their original home about the Baltic Sea they had spread southward and eastward, established their rulership over the indigenous populations and improved the languages and cultures of the conquered.

Penka's views made a deep impression on the Aryan controversialists in all countries and especially in England and Germany. Like Madison Grant, long after him, he contended that the type now exemplified in the tall, blond, muscular Swede had spread its leadership to ancient Rome, Greece, Persia and India. He elaborated the doctrine that a race could not establish itself permanently in a habitat widely different from that in which it originated, and thus accounted for the complete disappearance of the blond conqueror in areas he formerly ruled. He also contended that where two different races cross there will be a decisive tendency among the hybrids to return to one or other of the ancestral types, and that in such reversion the chances greatly favor the type most nearly acclimatized. He concluded that hybrid types are much less numerous than commonly supposed. Penka and Pösche are also largely responsible for the theory that there is a close correspondence between race and religion, that is, that the self-willed, independent and contentious dolicho-blond is Protestant, while the submissive and conservative brachy-brunet is Catholic. This theory had a considerable resemblance to the actual cultural distribution in Europe, and it was possible to explain that the tall blonds who were Catholic were only nominally so and the short brunets who were Protestant did not in fact share the true essence of Protestantism. This interesting speculation could never ad-

[13] Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–4.
[14] Vienna, 1883 and 1886.

vance beyond a certain hypothetical probability, although it won the adherence of various writers.[15]

There was one of Penka's contentions which though widely rejected at the time because the attacks of anthropologists and palæontologists had led to acceptance of the idea that there never had been an Aryan "race," has recently been strongly approved by Peake and others, just as it had been previously asserted by Max-Müller. This was his argument, already mentioned, that the original, the proto-Aryans, must have been of one physical type. He held that, in order to create a group of dialects sprung from one parent stem, there would be required a long period of racial isolation in a limited and separated habitat. As Peake puts the case: "The very conditions which would produce a specialized type of language, would, we may feel sure, have produced an equally specialized type of men." [16] We shall see that this idea is basic to the ardent Aryanism of Chamberlain and Grant though neither of them presents the case for such a view from palæontological anthropology. Similarly V. Gordon Childe in a very recent work [17] continually implies a similar viewpoint without once presenting any evidence therefor, except some very general indications of blond traits widely dispersed among the Aryan-speaking peoples. Peake attempts such a presentation [18] but has at hand only scattered bits of myths and rather fragmentary and more or less contradictory data from the Kurgans, or burial mounds, of the Russian steppes. In the following chapter (XIII) he quotes evidence that during the Kurgan period there were two races inhabiting the steppes of central Russia (p. 147) and it may be noted in passing that Professor R. B. Dixon [19] finds this anthropological evidence impossible of clarification at present.

[15] See Canon Taylor's exposition, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–50; for recent acceptances of this curious doctrine see Woodruff's *Expansion of Races* and Wm. McDougall's *"Is America safe for Democracy?"* See our discussion, pp. 233–4.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

[17] *The Aryans, A study of Indo-European Origins,* New York, 1926.

[18] See his Chap. IX, "Greek Lands and the Basis of Chronology" and Chap. XII, "The Aryan Cradle."

[19] *The Racial History of Man,* New York, 1923, especially pp. 118–26.

It is perfectly correct, therefore, to say that at the present time the logical argument advanced by Penka, Max-Müller, Peake, Childe and others for an original Aryan race of distinctive and relatively uniform physical type is as sound, or as unsound, as it ever was. How sound that is will doubtless be for each a matter of personal predilection. Certainly scientists of all fields will be skeptical of logic and await the dictum of facts. The facts for the contention are few and not clear, but on the other hand it cannot be disproven. On logical or *a priori* grounds it may with great cogency be argued that: (1) purity of race must in all cases be viewed as a relative term; even the Australian aborigines show evidences of race mixture; (2) it is highly improbable that a race as adventurous and nomadic as the Aryans or Wiros are pictured should have kept itself in complete isolation during a thousand years, or even several centuries anywhere in the central Eur-Asian plains; (3) it is also highly improbable that a race as numerous as the Aryans are uniformly assumed to have been (with the exception of occasional passages in Peake), scattered over the considerable territory that would be necessary under conditions of old- and new-stone age cultures could have avoided a good deal of intermixture; this improbability is strengthened when one takes account of the migratory and military propensities of the Aryans. This reasoning is strengthened by Childe's admission that even in Neolithic times, perhaps five or six thousand years ago, central Europe already contained a mosaic of races and that migrating groups were almost certainly far from pure. Moreover, assuming that there was an original simon-pure Aryan stock, there are no facts on which to base the assumption that it was endowed by nature and tradition with a sense of race superiority so pronounced that it viewed the mingling of its blood with others as a sort of race sacrilege. This last contention is advanced by various Aryanists; Gobineau and Chamberlain advance it, but in a self-contradictory manner; Grant and Peake put it forward, but with little proof. From those many centuries preceding recent times there are no advocates. If, therefore, as seems best, one does not go beyond the existing facts, he must say that there is as yet no evidence that a pure Aryan race ever existed, while there is much

logic as well as fact to warrant the belief that such a race did not exist in a pure state at any time within the last few thousand years.

The works of Pösche and Penka seem to have been little vitiated by any special racial sentiment, but it was very largely due to them that the doctrine of the racial supremacy of the tall blond became established in Germany. As we have seen, Gobineau laid little stress on anthropological data; he clearly pictured the Aryan-Germans as the saviors of civilization, but he was sparingly circumspect rather than repetitiously precise in his description of their physical traits. This may have been due to a too clear consciousness that his own eyes were not blue; or it may have been due to the fact that he wrote before interest in the anthropological aspects of the matter became active. In any case, after the works of Pösche and Penka it became the fashion in a rapidly widening circle of scholars to speak of the Baltic blonds as having constituted an aristocratic minority among the ancient Greeks, the Romans, and even farther afield. With the rise of the school of anthropo-sociology under the leadership of Otto Ammon in Germany and Vacher de Lapouge in France,[20] showing a predominance of blond long heads among the upper classes of western European cities the doctrine of a specially gifted Aryan race entered upon what seemed like irrefutable statistical proof. Thus the theory of a special racial aristocracy of Germanic lineage advanced in a posthumous work by the proud spokesman for the feudal system, Comte Henri de Boulainvillers (1658–1722), nearly two centuries before, once more came into vogue, but in a new setting. Every scrap of evidence from archælogical research and every reference since and before the days of Homer to fair gods, goddesses and heroes were eagerly collated to show the supremacy of the blond Aryan. To this was added the extensive and in many respects highly meritorious work of numerous anthropologists, German, French, Swiss, Polish and what not. There was an impressive lack of agreement among the advocates of divergent views even in any one country, and yet the theory of the tall, blond, dolichocephalic Aryan was most warmly and widely supported in Germany, while

[20] See special study of this school in a later chapter.

the theory of the short, dark, brachycephalic Aryan was similarly supported in France.

The weight of opinion, however, favored the dolicho-blond, who found powerful advocates even in France in Lapouge, Zaborowski, Collignon and others. France had indeed derived its name from one of the noblest tribes of this noble race, which had still many exemplars of its high-born qualities and aristocratic features among the successful classes in France. At the same time the valuable work of Von Holder, Lissauer, and especially of Virchow throughout the 70's and 80's in Germany, and of Anders Retzius in Sweden more than a decade earlier, revealing the remarkable heterogeneity of the very early populations of the Baltic areas and the existence among the ancient stocks of large proportions of brachycephals, counted for nearly naught; the myth of a pure and super-gifted Aryan or Aryan-Germanic race appealed powerfully to popular imagination.

It is customary to attribute almost solely to the Gobineau school the amazing outburst of tribal self-glorification evidenced by Germany during the decades preceding the Great War. It would seem, however, that other important factors must be taken into account. In the first place, the philosophies of Kant, Lessing, Herder, Fichte and Hegel fixed firmly in German thought a metaphysical conception of the state and a mystical philosophy of historical evolution. Kant (1724–1804) developed the doctrine of a continuous evolution of humanity from the dominion of instinct to freedom achieved through adherence to the law of reason. Fichte (1762–1814) found in history the revelation of the Absolute, made the state an instrument of the divine purpose in relation to the individual and thus elevated patriotism to a religion. Moreover, he found the German nation the only one capable of true patriotism and true religion and hence endowed with a special divine mission in the revelation of the soul and purposes of God to Humanity. Fichte established firmly in political tradition the trilogy of race, nation and language and may be looked upon as the spiritual progenitor of all those expansive ideologies, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Latinism, which have dreamed of the union of all peoples speaking related tongues into one

vast, and of course glorious, empire. Herder (1744–1803) laid the basis for a Pan-Germanic movement when he declared that "History happily reveals that the system of the Germanic nations has protected the debris of human culture against the tempests of centuries, developed public spirit in Europe and slowly and silently extended its action to all countries of the globe." And he added, "We have much yet to do." [21]

A powerful factor in fixing racial idealizations in the tradition of the German people was the literature of the Romantic movement founded by Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829). His philosophy of history was founded largely on the doctrine that it was the purity and vigor of the German blood which had saved civilization and regenerated it as it threatened to fall to pieces in the hands of the degenerate Romans. He found the unity of modern history in a Christianity which was derived from the vitalizing of Roman culture by the special racial potency of the Teutons, a view that found repetition in Gobineau and indefinite expansion in Chamberlain. It is a view which exhales the essence of the particular form of race mysticism which slowly developed in Germany in the nineteenth century.[22]

But all his predecessors were only mildly introductory to the apotheosis of the state by Hegel (1770–1831). In his teaching, the state became, if not God Himself, at least the highest creation of Eternal Reason and the clearest expression of Divine Wisdom. The state became endowed with an absolutism which put the Leviathan to shame, even transcending the most extravagant claims of those imperialists who in an earlier day claimed for the emperor a divinely given right to rule. "Every state, whatever it be, participates in the divine essence." The state, conceived as idea, conceived as the unification and harmonization of generality and individuality, is the actual God in the world. Universal history is but the unfolding of Divine Reason, of Universal Spirit. It is

[21] Quoted by Ernest Sellière, *Le Comte de Gobineau,* pp. xxvii and xxviii.

[22] Cf. Theophile Simar, *Étude critique sur la formation de la doctrine des races au xvii^e siècle et son expansion au xix^e siècle,* Brussels, 1922, pp. 119–20.

an expression of an expanding consciousness of freedom culminating in the German world which knows all to be free. "An artist in abstractions" and moving in "an atmosphere of mystical exaltation," [23] Hegel succeeded not only in reconciling individual freedom with a sovereign monarchy but especially in so confusing the divine qualities of the state in idea with the Hohenzollern state in fact that a cult of the monarchic state was created.[24] The absolutistic and idealistic conception of the state, the mystical doctrines that monarchy, state, and historical evolution are the outward manifestations of an inner essence, the religious consciousness of a glorious and divinely-inspired mission of the German folk, greatly strengthened by the zealous patriotism systematically cultivated after 1870, all prepared for a ready acceptance of the doctrines of the Gobineau cult.

Strange as it may seem, an early and powerful formulation of Pan-Germanism in one of its varied forms was made by Friedrich List in his *System of Political Economy* published in 1840. He identified race and language, and held that race, a creation of nature, should form the basis of the state. Existing states, being the artificial creations of chance and diplomacy, should be superseded by new ones resting on a true foundation. The European races were the Slavic, the Latin and the Germanic, and hence each should have an all-inclusive state of its own wherein its special genius could find full and free expression. List saw in the "German race" a special genius for the development of power and wealth, and in this respect contrasted them with the French, or "Gallic race," who were obviously inferior in manufacturing, in commerce and in naval prowess, and devoted to military glory. England, he viewed as part of the Germanic stock and in England's success as a colonial power he saw the possibilities of world domination by Germany and England when the former should enter upon a policy of colonization.[25]

[23] Wm. A. Dunning, *Political Theories, from Montesquieu to Spencer*, New York, 1905, p. 159.

[24] See Dunning, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV, and John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics*, New York, 1915, pp. 91–132.

[25] Simar, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–23.

The foundation was thus laid by these high priests of learning and culture for an unquestioning acceptance of the absolutistic and idealistic conception of the state, the mystical doctrine that the outward manifestation of an inner essence may be seen in the monarchy, the state and the processes of historical evolution. At the same time, immense impetus was given to the development of the religious consciousness of a glorious and divinely-inspired mission of the German folk. All this was steadily aided by the writings of the romantic historians, the poets and the philosophers, the Schlegels, Goethes and Schopenhauers, great and small. After 1870 the eager zeal of the Prussian nationalistic historians stirred anew the expectant patriotism of the nation. On account of the importance attributed to the writings of Heinrich von Treitschke it may be worth noting here that in his *Politics* (1907) one does not find the slightest trace of Aryanism or Teutonism. On the contrary he says: "No one would try to maintain that the creative political strength of Germany resided in these unmixed German stocks. The real champions and pioneers of civilization in Germany in the Middle Ages were the South Germans, who have a Celtic strain, and in modern times, the North Germans, who are partly Slav." Far from being an advocate of the advantages of racial purity, Treitschke, here as in many other respects like Ludwig Gumplowicz, finds the origins of political genius in a mixture of races. He says: "Almost all great nations, like the Athenians, call themselves autochthonous, and boast, nearly always without cause, of the purity of their blood. Yet it is just the State-constructing nations, like the Romans and the English, who are the most strongly mixed race." [26] One may thus hold that the state is more than human and that his own state is called to a world mission of sublimity and grandeur, and yet find the source of its power, not in the special gifts of a super-race, but in the qualities arising from race mixture. And under the inspiring leadership of such subtle forces as Wagnerian opera and patriotized Christianity, there emerged an exultant and crusading faith in the inevitable expansion and domination of Germanism.

[26] Treitschke, vol. 1, p. 281, Translation by Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Billa, London, 1916.

In all this there was nothing unique. The same processes and the same kinds of influence were at work in other European countries, Japan and the United States. In each one, popular thought is composed mostly of tradition and emotion. What flatters the patriotic vanity is taught, spoken, reiterated until it becomes a part of popular faith. Witness recent revisions of histories in this country in order to make them palatable for popular consumption. The violent patriotism that inevitably results is the most powerful social force in history. This sentiment is a natural and inevitable expression of man's gregarious nature and everywhere it makes an amalgam of folk-lore, tradition, history and religious mysticism which fires the innermost depths of even a cautious scholar. In times of peace it is expressed in song, ceremony, symbol and ritual, while in times of group stress it becomes an all-enveloping and irresistible passion which makes men heroic and nations sublime, as it also makes silly asses of men and pestiferous nuisances of nations.

Thus by the close of the nineteenth century the original mysticism of Gobineau had been raised to the exalted level of a holy and increasingly militant faith. In 1899 this was given a powerful expression in the writings of Houston-Stewart Chamberlain, another poet-musician-philosopher. Though born in England of aristocratic parents, he was educated in France and Germany, became an enthusiastic follower of Wagner, whose daughter he later married, a member of the Gobineau Vereinigung, and a contributor to the *Politische Anthropologische Revue.* His most influential work was his *Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*[27]

This work rested squarely on the original Gobineau assumptions, bolstered up by much of the Aryan tradition accumulated thereafter, and mixed with a vast amount of historical, philosophical, poetical and purely imaginative material. These loquacious and rambling volumes, making an impressive show of encyclopædic learning, full of contradictions, crammed with dogmatizing and rationalizing relieved by only occasional manifesta-

[27] Berlin, 1899; English translation by John Lees, with "Introduction" by Lord Redesdale, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century,* 2 vols. London and New York, 1910. References are to this translation.

tions of scientific criticism, were so popular in Germany that, in spite of size and cost, their sales ran into the scores of thousands. Kaiser Wilhelm was so pleased with them that he appropriated 10,000 marks to further their distribution. They are not science, but literature; nevertheless, their pseudo-scientific character is skilfully concealed by the author's range of knowledge and his undoubted intellectual power, while their great influence over popular thought was due to their vigorous and often deeply-moving style. Chamberlain was a man after Gobineau's own heart. His ardor, his poetical mysticism, his vigor of expression and his sweeping imaginative power of summation and generalization all evidenced a man of letters of great gifts, qualified to intensify in one of the greatest nations of all time the sense of superiority and the consciousness of special racial destiny. There can be little doubt that his artistic temperament was deeply stirred by that demonic afflatus which in our day finds its chief expression in racial and national patriotism. He wrote as poet and prophet to whom truth had been revealed in all its divine effulgence. And most of the world prefers the soothsayer to the humble seeker after knowledge. Poetry and prophecy glow with the warmth and light of illusion; scientific truth is cold, plain and prosaic. It may be that man cannot live without illusion; in any case, it still serves to raise hope, increase confidence, and stir the will to live and the desire to dominate. As an outstanding contribution to that literature which intensified in the German people the illusion of a special divine mission Chamberlain's work must be viewed as one of the remote causes in the background of the Great War.

Only the scantiest illustration of his method and viewpoint is possible here. The *Foundations* of the modern world were laid, he finds, by five great factors: the art, literature and philosophy of Greece; the law, statecraft, and ideals of citizenship of Rome; the world-redeeming "revelation of Christ"; the alien and disrupting influence of the Jews and Judaism; and the saving, regenerating, reorganizing and ennobling power of the Teutons.

Space requires that we confine ourselves to his doctrines of Aryanism, Teutonism and race. His Aryanism is obviously much diluted in comparison with that of Gobineau. Though usually

classed by American students among the promoters of the Aryan myth, it is extremely doubtful whether this is a fair recognition of Chamberlain's attitude. That he was fully aware of the absurdities attaching to the conception of an Aryan race is clear. But here, as elsewhere, he is consistently so self-contradictory that one can attribute anything to him and fortify allegation with an appropriate quotation.

As to Aryanism, it is obvious that Chamberlain found it a ticklish subject, a bog of receding mirages and shifting quicksands: "And what kind of man is the Aryan? Only he who knows nothing of ethnography can give a definite answer to this question." [28] He finds the Aryan peoples very much mixed in blood and quotes Ujfalvi, who made a special research expedition to central Asia, to the effect that "The term Aryan is purely conventional: the Iranian peoples at the north and the Hindoo tribes at the south of the Indian Caucasus differ absolutely in type, and descend, without any doubt whatever, from two different races." [29] He agrees that the authorities (G. Schrader, Ranke and Virchow) find the Aryans in Europe from the days of "the oldest troglodytes" and remarks that "The more we study the specialists, the less certain we become." [30] Hartmann in 1876 had declared the Aryans "an invention of the study and not a primeval people," and there were many who agreed. Salomon Reinach [31] had declared: "To speak of the Aryans of three thousand years ago is to express a gratuitous hypothesis; while to speak as if they existed to-day is simply to utter an absurdity." Philology, anthropology and ethnology have all united to make the concept of an Aryan people impossible; "who knows what will be taught about 'Aryans' in the year 1950?" [32]

And yet Chamberlain can hardly dispense with the use of the term. Indeed, there are great authorities, he finds, such as Ratzel,

[28] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 263–4.

[29] Quoted from Chas. de Ujfalvi, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kousch,* Paris, 1896, p. 15.

[30] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 265.

[31] *L'Origine des Aryens,* 1892, p. 90.

[32] *Foundations,* vol. I, p. 265.

Ranke, Ehrenreich, who hold that "the common characteristics of the Indo-Europeans, from the Atlantic Ocean to India, suffice to put the actual blood-relationship beyond all doubt." [33] It is especially important, he thinks, to emphasize the uniformity and special character of the conception of law among all Aryan or Indo-European peoples. "No measuring of skulls and philological subtleties can get rid of this simple fact and by it the existence of a moral Aryanism is proved, no matter how varied are the elements of which the peoples of this group should be composed." [34] So the term Aryan becomes ever more indispensable to scientists and historians, philologists and theologians. Nevertheless, if one uses the term ever so cautiously "he is scorned and slandered by academic scribes and nameless newspaper reviewers." But it is best to "trust science more than the official simplifiers and levellers and the professional anti-Aryan confusion-makers. Though it were proved that there never was an Aryan race in the past, yet we desire that in the future there may be one." [35]

These passages reveal a clear understanding on Chamberlain's part of the factual intricacies and theoretical difficulties of current Aryan hypotheses. They also show that the concept of a race patterned after the idealized though fictitious Aryan as the model toward which western peoples should evolve appealed strongly to his poetical imagination. In many passages in the *Foundations* he even lapses into the use of "Aryan" and "Indo-European" as applying to races. But the reader of Chamberlain becomes inured to contradiction and inconsistency. At the same time, it should be clear that those numerous American critics who, first arousing prejudice by calling him a "renegade Englishman," then go on to accuse him broadly of promulgating the Aryan myth, are not sufficiently candid and discriminating. This can be made plain by citing one of those passages in which Chamberlain pays his respects to Buckle and Gobineau as "two poles of an equally wrong method." One explained culture by climate, soil and food, the other by "a hypothetical Aryan, a being of whom we know

[33] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 266.
[34] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 93–4.
[35] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 266, note.

nothing at all, whom we construct out of the remotest, most incomprehensible sagas, and patch together from linguistic indications which are extremely difficult to interpret, a being whom every one can, like a fairy, endow with all the gifts that he pleases." [36] On the whole it seems accurate to say that Chamberlain generally avoided the doctrine of an Aryan race, but that he found the terms "Aryan," "Indo-European" and "Aryanism" necessary in describing certain elements of culture common to India, Irania, Greece, Rome and Western Europe.

But if Gobineau may be called the great apostle of Aryanism, Chamberlain may be called the great evangelist of Teutonism. In fact, he even outdid his distinguished exemplar in romantic idealization. The heroic qualities of the Teuton aroused all the eloquent admiration of his ardent and enthusiastic nature. As Lord Redesdale says in the "Introduction": "The leitmotiv which runs through the whole book is the assertion of the superiority of the Teuton family to all the other races of the world." In passage after passage tribute is paid to the marvelous qualities and extraordinary capacity for civilization of the Teutons, *Die Germanen.*

And what kind of man is this Teuton? He must not be conceived in any narrow nationalistic sense, for he "embraces the various portions of the great North-European race, whether 'Teutonic' in the narrow Tacitean meaning, or Celts, or genuine Slavs." [37] The author is a little skeptical of Slavs and hence takes pains to designate as "genuine" those whom he would include within the circle of the elect. He tells us that these have descended from the ancient Teutons, and must not be confused with modern Slavs who have lost their racial power through miscegenation.[38] Of their racial purity there can be no doubt. "That Celts, Slavs and Teutons are descended from a single pure stock may to-day be regarded as certain in the light of anthropology and ancient history." [39] This Teuton may be identified with

[36] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 206. In another place, vol. 2, p. 263, Chamberlain puts Gobineau's work "in the hybrid class of scientific phantasmagorias."

[37] *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 67.

[38] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 197.

[39] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 499, note.

the *Homo Europæus* of Vacher de Lapouge.[40] Two Frenchmen, d'Arbois de Jubainville and Gabriel de Mortillet, are quoted in support of the contention that Gauls and Germans are racially the same.[41]

It was the Teuton who created all that is most worthy in modern civilization. About four hundred pages are devoted to the story of Teutonic triumphs in every sphere of human achievement. It is the story of "the creation of a new world, of an absolutely new order of society adapted to the character, the needs and the gifts of a new species of men."[42] Here we have in Chamberlain the most specific statement of the primacy of race in the evolution of culture. "It was Teutonic blood and Teutonic blood alone that formed the impelling force and the informing power."[43] "It is a definite species of mankind which constitutes the physical and moral basis of our North-European culture. The less Teutonic a land is the more uncivilized it is."[44] That European civilization of the present is "specifically Teutonic" is repeatedly reiterated.

We cannot here even mention all the claims made for the Teuton as the creator of present civilization. Two out-standing achievements were the preservation and regeneration of Christianity, a doctrine at least as old as Friedrich Schlegel, and the renewal of civilization in the Renaissance. The Teuton is pictured as having an especially deep religious nature: "No souls thirst more after religion than the Slavs, the Celts and the Teutons";[45] as showing a special affinity for the message of Jesus; as having an instinctive revulsion from the double blights of Judaism and Romanism; and as now being the sole carrier of the true gospel throughout the world. The Renaissance is presented as the unique work of Lombard, Goth and other Teutons of Italy and the notable

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 499 note and 522.

[41] The former in *Les Celtes*, 1904, said, "There is probably more Gallic blood in Germany than in France." The latter, in his *Formation de la nation française*, 1897, is quoted as asserting that the physical characteristics of the Gauls and the Germans are "exactly the same."

[42] *Foundations*, vol. 2, p. 187.

[43] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 187.

[44] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 188.

[45] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. xxviii.

contributors to the art, science and literature of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy were derived from their "creative blood." But this is only the beginning of a long series of varied achievements in Discovery, Science, Industry, Political Economy, Politics, the Church, Philosophy and Religion, and Art which includes among the outstanding Teutons the great creative minds of Western Europe from Marco Polo, Roger Bacon and Giotto to Galvani, Lavoisier, Watt, Kant and Goethe. Moreover, if one brought together all the great names of recent times which are by implication brought under the ægis of the Teuton stock he would find that few notable moderns had escaped. It was thus the blood of *Die Germanen* from which sprang most if not all those mighty geniuses, who by their originality and creative power reared a new civilization on the chaos of the decadent Roman power, a civilization popularly considered European, but in essence Teutonic.

Thus the process of poetic idealization ignored all logical limitations. It might have been assumed that a "pure" race would have more or less highly specialized traits and capacities and that it would be subject to the limitations imposed by its purity and specialism. Individuals and animal breeds alike have the defects of their qualities. No man combines all the qualities most suitable for every position and purpose. A great scholar may be a poor administrator; a great artist, a poor manager. Likewise a Percheron or Norman horse would be a poor entry for the Derby, an awkward saddle-horse in a cattle round-up. But not so with Chamberlain's Teutons; they led in statecraft and in music as well.

He must, however, be given credit for an occasional note of caution, such as is shown in his treatment of the Apostle Paul.[46] So great a man could not have been "a pure Jew by race"; so Chamberlain finds his father to have been a Jew and his mother a Hellene. Now, while the popular notion that a man inherits his character from his father and his intellect from his mother may be a bit dogmatic, says Chamberlain, yet, when we observe its operation in the cases of many great men, such as Goethe and

[46] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 57, note.

Schopenhauer, it may well serve to explain Paul. Likewise, the discussion of Jesus is typically Chamberlainian. There is not the slightest evidence of his parents being of Jewish descent; the Galileans doubtless had an infusion of Aryan blood; and Christ's Aryanism is revealed in his message. At the same time, Joseph, Galilean or not, was not his father, for he had no father![47]

And how may one describe the physical traits of this superrace? *Der Germane,* the Teuton, must not be confused with *Der Deutsch,* the modern German, though one need not doubt that Germany is the nation in which the greatest amount of old Teutonic blood is found in greatest purity. Well, it is a matter of widely accepted tradition that the pure-blooded Teuton is tall, strongly built, with a large frame, blue or gray-eyed, blond or red-haired, long-headed, and clear complexioned. In one passage, Chamberlain pictures the ideal Teuton, one not found in the flesh, but such as he might have appeared to one who had before his eyes all the Germanic peoples of the days of Tacitus, "the still unmixed Celts, the Teutons and the Germanic Slavs," an ideal representative of the perfect combination of those traits about which all genuine Teutons vary: "the great radiant heavenly eyes, the golden hair, the gigantic stature, the symmetrical muscular development, the lengthened skull (which an ever-active brain, tortured by longing, had changed from the round lines of animal contentedness and extending toward the front),[48] the lofty countenance, required by an elevated spiritual life as the seat of its expression."[49] In this passage the worshipful idolatry of the poet and lover are clearly manifest. Moreover, there can be no doubt of the racial distinctiveness of the Teutons, even from the rest of the Indo-Europeans, and the importance of physical traits "would perhaps be difficult to over-estimate."[50]

[47] *Ibid.,* vol. 1, pp. 205, 206, 210 *et passim.*

[48] There is a similar passage in J. Jacobs, "On the Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews," *Jour. of Anthrop. Inst.,* vol. 15, 1886, in which he suggests that the brachycephalization of the Jews may be due to their intense mental activity. Evidently race idolatry and poetical imagination are not limited to the Nordics.

[49] *Ibid.,* vol. 1, p. 535.

[50] *Ibid.,* vol. 1, p. 518.

But here one must note certain limitations. In the first place, "that man only is Germanic who is descended from Germanic ancestors." [51] Just why this should be a limitation is not clear, but its bearing is at once indicated in the contention that any mixture of Teutonic elements gives a "genuinely Germanic" product. It is obvious to the reader that this "limitation" greatly broadens the scope of the area over which the genius-producing Teutonic blood may be said to have operated. In fact, our author finds that it is the very mixture of Germanic types that accounts for the "superabundance of rich talents" in France and for "the distinct national color and the richness of the gifts" of the German people.[52]

But there are other "limitations." Virchow had made much of the doctrine dear to the heart of all Blondists from Gobineau to Madison Grant, that the aristocracy of Europe was everywhere of the tall fair-haired type. Chamberlain finds this doctrine out of harmony with the facts. He accused Virchow of being blinded by political prejudice in failing to note "the prevalence of dark color among the members of the most genuine old Germanic nobility. In England this is quite striking. Tall, spare-built figures, long skulls, long countenances . . . genealogies which go back to the Norman period, in short, genuine Teutons in physique and history —but black hair." [53] He notes the same in Germany among the old nobility. He finds the poets frequently speak of dark hair as a characteristic of the nobility even in the north of Germany. Indeed, the inhabitants of the German Tyrol, who have been declared to "represent the true type of the primeval Teuton," have dark or black hair. In short, "the most genuine sons of this (Teutonic) race may be black-haired." [54]

How, then, shall we view the head-form? All investigations show this to have been very much mixed, among the primitives, the ancients (Hellenes), and the moderns. Facts compel the recognition of the existence in Europe from the most remote period of round heads as well as long heads. These non-Indo-European

[51] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 521.
[52] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 522, and vol. 2, p. 231.
[53] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 523.
[54] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 526.

races mixed with the Teutons and contribute still to their ungermanizing. In consequence of the multitude of conflicting facts "science is at the present time like a helpless barque tossing to and fro on a troubled sea; whoever is led away by its illusions is doomed sooner or later to sink." [55] The author finds the problem greatly complicated by the growing belief that the Indo-Europeans did not immigrate into Europe but were indigenous there. At this point he pours out his scorn on the racial equalitarians, such as Kollmann, who reach the astounding conclusion that "the development of culture is manifestly the common achievement of all these types. All European races so far as we have penetrated into the secret of the nature of race, are equally gifted for every task of culture." Any such idea is to Chamberlain unthinkable, and he warns against following such silly delusions of the younger anthropologists. He condemns the whole of craniometry and anatomical science in relation to the problems of race as a quagmire.

What then shall be our guide? His answer is found in the sections labelled "Rational Anthropology," "Science of Physiognomy," and "Freedom and Loyalty." [56] Starting with the fact that there is much variation in any plant or animal species, he lays down the principle that no instruments of measurement enable one to pick out what is superior and distinctive. In consequence, one must fall back "on intuition born of ceaseless observation." [57] If then we had before us all the Teutons of the olden days we should not find them all tall as giants and all dolichocephalous. "On the other hand, we might well have made the seemingly paradoxical statement, that the small men of this group are tall, for they belong to a tall race, and for the same reason those short skulls are long; if we look more closely we shall soon see that outwardly and inwardly they have specific characteristics of the Germanic people." If one is inclined to doubt the infallibility of this method of intuitive determination of what is truly German from what is not, Chamberlain has a convincing illustration of the working of the

[55] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 530.
[56] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 534–50.
[57] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 537.

method in a related sphere. He has noticed "that very small children, especially girls, frequently have quite a marked instinct for race. It frequently happens that children who have no conception of what 'Jew' means, or that there is such a thing in the world, begin to cry as soon as a genuine Jew or Jewess comes near them! The learned frequently cannot tell a Jew from a non-Jew; the child that scarcely knows how to speak notices the difference." This will strike the scientifically-minded person as nonsensical drivel but to our author "it seems worth as much as a whole anthropological congress."

An illustration of this infallible method for discovering the secrets of human heredity is found in the study of faces. Thus Dante's noble countenance betrays his unmistakable Teutonic origin, a clear embodiment of the creative blood of Goths, Langobards and Franks who had thoroughly Germanized Northern Italy. Of course, not all German heads and faces resemble Dante's. On the contrary, "we find all thinkable combinations, even to that head which in every particular is the very opposite of Dante's and by this very fact betrays the intimate relationship: I mean the head of Martin Luther." One recognizes this intimate relationship betrayed by directly opposite traits quite readily by noticing "the mental hurricane expressed in the countenance" in the case of Dante, but which in the case of Luther "embraces forehead, eyes and nose." In other words, the basis of a "rational anthropology" is found in a sort of spiritual divination. In any case such a method enables one to prove what he pleases to his own satisfaction and renders him immune to the contradictoriness of facts and the logic of critics. What matters it that Dante's head is long and Luther's round?—their countenances reflect the energy, thirst for achievement, and soul power of the Germanic spirit at its best. Hence, "Dante and Luther are at the extremes of the rich physiognomical scale of great Germanic men." Which means that any one, provided he be sufficiently great, may be included within the sacred precincts of the chosen race.

We may pause here to note the significance of Chamberlain's admission that the aristocracy of western Europe was much mixed in anthropological type. It is an admission overlooked by some

of his successors, notably Woltmann and Grant, but one which not only fits the facts—as his own and even Woltmann's evidence indicates—but also suggests an altogether different view of the rôle of the racial factor. The famous French anthropologist, Paul Broca,[58] had a generation earlier declared: "Partout il y a des hommes grands et des hommes petits, partout il y a des blonds et des bruns, des têtes longues et des têtes rondes, des yeux noirs, bleus ou gris, des visages celtiques, germaniques et même pélasgiques." Heterogeneity among these peoples has doubtless existed for several thousand years. It has at no time been a question of pure races: even Gobineau repeatedly remarks on the alloy among the various Aryan groups even at the moment of the earliest historical movements. It has always been a question, therefore, of the relative proportions of different elements contained by different groups. The same is true of the various classes. If the conquering races were, at the moment of conquest, relatively pure, they straightway ceased to be as much so in consequence of miscegenation. The aristocratic elements would also be gradually alloyed through the elevation to their ranks of the more energetic, courageous and capable men of the ranks below. From the days before the Christian era when such men made themselves *bo-aires* and their sons hereditary noblemen among the ancient Irish down to the present, there has never been a time when such elevation was not possible and was not occurring. In other words, men of varied racial background revealed capacities for the highest tasks. It is again merely a question of relative proportions, a matter considered more at length in our discussion of anthropo-sociology.

One may hold that character and intelligence of race or individual are reflected in the countenance and at the same time reject the puerile nonsense perpetrated by Chamberlain in the use of physiognomy as an anthropological method. Salaman[59] is not the only one who has believed that there is something persistent and characteristic about the Jewish expression. He even

[58] *Mémoires d'anthropologie,* Paris, 1871.

[59] R. N. Salaman, "Heredity and the Jews," *Jour. of Genetics,* vol. 1, 1910–11, pp. 273–90.

thought to prove it a recessive trait in Jewish-Gentile crosses. But it was Galton who submitted the only scientific method of studying the facial expression as a whole in his composite photographs.[60] He was able to show that there is something characteristic or typical about the expression of certain classes. But the method is cumbrous, difficult to bring under exact statistical control, and easily subject to special manipulation. It has, therefore, failed of general adoption. Moreover, a trait that is racial and due to inheritance must register itself in physical proportions which can be subjected to exact quantitative measurement. To be sure, methods of measuring the fleshy parts of the face, as nose and lips, are still wanting, and might well serve a useful purpose in spite of the fact that these parts are variable with age and health. At the same time it should be noted that the resources of the cephalic and other indexes of the skull are far from exhausted as yet.

But Chamberlain would fain carry his farcical "rational anthropology" one step farther and take a look into "the soul of the races." Having rejected the methods of physical anthropology as the means of testing racial affinity, he moves first to the uncharted field of physiognomy in search of the physical expression of psychic traits and from there to the even more ethereal and spiritistic realm of subjective idealization. And with what result? He finds that the outstanding trait of the Teuton is his loyalty to his self-chosen leaders. It is not mere loyalty that one observes, for "the negro and the dog serve their master, whoever they may be; that is the morality of the weak, or, as Aristotle says, of the man who is born to be a slave; the Teuton chooses his master, and his loyalty is therefore loyalty to himself: that is the loyalty of the man who is born to be free."[61] It is then the undying loyalty of the freedom-loving Teuton that constitutes "the finest touchstone" for discovering his presence. And the root of this quality "is beyond all doubt that power of imagination which is common to all Aryans and peculiar to them alone and which appeared in greatest luxuriance among the Hellenes." This is on page 548;

[60] Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty, Appendix A,* Everyman's Library Edition.

[61] *Foundations,* vol. I, pp. 546–7.

but on the preceding page he has told us in equally eloquent style: "The disloyalty of the extravagantly gifted proclaimer of poetical and political freedom, i. e., of the Hellene, was proverbial from time immemorial." So we end once more in an absurd contradiction. Loyalty is rooted in imagination; but the Hellenes, Aryans like the Teutons, had a supreme measure of imagination, though they were notoriously disloyal, while the Teutons are the very embodiment of that noble quality, loyalty. One could offer a prize to any one who would find five consecutive pages of the two large volumes in which a contradiction was not expressed, and be certain that it would never be won.

So much, then, for Chamberlain's Teutonism. He begins by extolling the importance of the physical basis of racial power and the anthropological distinctiveness of the tall, golden-haired and long-headed Teutons. He ends by rejecting all physical criteria in favor of intuition and spiritual affinity. But there was no other way for him to organize and unify the maze of conflicting and stubborn facts into the idealized creation which his vivid imagination so gloriously pictured. "Whoever reveals himself German by his acts, whatever be his genealogical tree, is a German." This destroyed all criteria of race, but would not prevent *The Foundations* from stirring among the German people an intensified race pride. For Chamberlain, like others who prove to be influential prophets, was interpreted even more than interpreter. Those parts of his diverse and confusing pronouncements which suited the *Zeitgeist* were selected out, repeated, refined, magnified. The presence in Germany of a vast amount of careful scholarly work exposing the absurdities of Teuton worship had little effect on public thought. His work is a panegyric, the expression of an idolatrous enthusiast. Though he began his professional career as a serious student of botanical science, he was at bottom not a man of science at all, but a romantic esthete whose imagination had been fired almost to madness by the potent magic of the Wagnerian circle. The glorification of the Teuton as the creator of civilization and as the only hope for the revelation of the Germanic religion by which the world might be ultimately redeemed,—these were his themes and he developed them with such power as to

influence strongly a people already imbued with a mysticism like unto his own. He transformed the Aryanism of Gobineau into the Teutonism which lay at the basis of the imperialism and pan-Germanism of Treitschke and Bernhardi.

It remains to outline briefly Chamberlain's theory of the rôle of racial heredity. He cherished the dream of a great and pure Teutonic race in the future freed from the corruptions which had during many centuries increasingly "ungermanized" the German people. His five cardinal laws for the creation of a super-race include first, the necessity of sound material to start with. To secure the "extravagant," the super-men, from such material there must be in-breeding; but thirdly, the in-breeding itself will not suffice: there must be selection, that is, artificial selection, or the purposeful elimination of the unfit. But the effects of too close in-breeding are degeneracy and sterility; these must be prevented and racial qualities perfected by crossing. This is a cardinal principle with the author, and often referred to. It is best that the crossing be that of related strains. Thus the intermingling of the various branches of the Teutonic stocks, Celt, German and Slav, has been notably fecund in men of genius. The same is true of the crossing of Teutonic and Romance elements in Burgundy; of Teutonic, Frankish and Gallo-Romanic elements in France; and of similar elements in Swabia, Saxony, Franconia, and Prussia. But finally, this admixture of new blood must be strictly limited in length of time, and it must be appropriate. Continued crossing tends to "obliterate characters" and produces a stock without distinction. Moreover, not all combinations refine and ennoble, of which proof in abundance may be seen in the South American states.

It is not necessary to discuss these principles at this point; some of them seem sound enough in the light of present knowledge and some amplification of them will be given later. But it should be noted that these were set forth as principles whereby a super-race might be brought into existence. The fundamental significance of this lies in the fervent hope that civilization might again be renewed by a purified and revivified Teutonic race. This is an essential part of the mystical race religion of the Wagnerian school.

For this reason Chamberlain criticises Gobineau's doctrine that the races were originally pure and through crossing started on the downward path. This "fantastic idea that the originally 'pure' races crossed with each other" leads only to "a hopelessly pessimistic view of the future of the human race." The true view is that every noble race becomes noble by a gradual process.[62] This process the above five principles outline. One might assume from this that the Teutons also had at one time been impure and only gradually mounted to true nobility. But it seemed to suit Chamberlain's purposes better to assure his readers that they had emerged from their original habitat already in the highest state of purity. In that case, consistency requires that we assume that, once highly heterogeneous in some mythical habitat, they had there undergone a long period of endogamous marriage resulting in their final purification. But in that case one wonders why they did not produce an unequalled civilization while still in their state of uncorrupted purity and why it was only after their cross-fertilization with other European elements that they led in the re-creation of culture.

This theory that general decadence followed widespread hybridization of the population was derived from Gobineau. He made much of the "Chaos of Peoples," the period following the decline of Rome. In consequence of the vast mongrelization of peoples due to the long centuries of peace and prosperity achieved by the Empire there followed a millennium of confused impotence in which all Europe was devoid of leadership and capacity for progress. In like manner the brilliant centuries in Italy following the Renaissance gave way to a new era of chaos when the caste lines that had long protected the Teuton aristocracy from blood contamination were broken down and all capacity to produce creative leaders was lost. Exactly the same process is said to have occurred in Spain resulting in the corruption of the Gothic leadership.[63] As regards all such explanations, the careful student must say that we do not know how much truth there may be in them. They involve a philosophy of history, and while we

[62] *Foundations,* vol. I, p. 263.

[63] *Ibid.,* vol. I, pp. 520–1.

have many philosophies we, as yet, have no science of history, or of social processes in the large. An eclectic spirit here seems the soundest course. There are many reasons for believing that the potential fecundity of every civilized nation in men of genius is far from constant. But at the same time the brilliancy of national achievement obviously depends much on factors outside its own borders, as the discovery of new worlds, the opening of new trade routes, the discovery of new industrial processes or new sources of natural wealth, the movements of peoples, great climatic changes, etc. Moreover, the biological aspects of the relation of racial heterogeneity to racial decadence really involve two problems which should be kept distinct.

There is, first, the question whether and to what extent repeated crossing tends to destroy the distinctive character of a species; and there is, secondly, the question whether a change in racial traits necessarily involves a reduction in intellectual powers. As to the first, there can be no doubt that repeated crossing will destroy the distinctive traits of a species. Such traits can only be maintained by selective breeding. The blondness of the ideal "Nordic" can be reduced or even bred out by continuous crossing with duplex brunet types. The second question is not so easily answered, for it is as yet not clear to what extent particular mental capacities can be attributed to the various racial elements in the European population. As regards physical traits, there is a clear separation between the ideal Nordic and the ideal Mediterranean as regards hair and eye color, but there is no mental trait found in one which is not found in the other. There is in each group a considerable range of variation as regards any mental capacity, and we cannot be certain whether they will differ as regards the average development of any given trait or whether the proportions of the curves which represent the distribution of the trait will be the same or strikingly different. If they should be the same, then one could maintain that repeated crossing will not in itself be a cause of decadence.

But Chamberlain repeatedly emphasizes the value both of race purity and of race mixture on a moderate scale. His discussion of the Jews illustrates his views on this point and also his ubiqui-

tous inconsistency. He finds them to be originally compounded of Syrians, Hittites, Indo-Europeans, Amorites (*Homo Europæus*) and Bedouin Semites from the Arabian Desert, the latter element constituting about half the total. He is not, however, like a recent American psychologist, under the delusion that a racial compound can be broken up into arbitrarily guessed percentages of the assumed original elements.[64] After enjoining caution, Chamberlain says: "We shall not be inclined to 'construct' the Israelite from percentages of Semites, Amorites and Hittites, somewhat as a cook makes a pudding from a recipe; that would be childish folly." [65] The Jews were, therefore, a very impure conglomerate to begin with, but they gradually became purer and purer. He alleges that from a very early date the Jews made themselves a separate people, enforced penalties against those marrying outside the fold, especially the males, and thus fixed clearly and sharply the dominating elements of Jewish character. This he holds to be the chief source of their genius and their power, for in spite of smallness of numbers they have exerted a marvelous influence in the development of western civilization. For this reason, in spite of his obvious emotional reaction against the Jews, he occasionally grows eloquent over the results of their assumed race purity. Speaking of the "genuine Sephardim" he says: "This is nobility in the fullest sense of the word, genuine nobility of race! Beautiful figures, noble heads, dignity in bearing and speech. That out of the midst of such people Prophets and Psalmists could arise—that I understood at the first glance." [66]

One might well wish that Chamberlain would not decide so many momentous anthropological questions by "the first glance." Moreover, the inevitable contradiction appears, for we are told that the Jew is not distinguished by physical traits at all, for "the term Jew rather denotes a special way of thinking and feeling." One may become a Jew without being born of Israelitish blood and though one have authentic Israelitish heredity he is not neces-

[64] Professor C. C. Brigham in *A Study of American Intelligence*, Princeton, 1923, commits this preposterous error.

[65] *Foundations*, vol. 1, p. 408.

[66] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 273.

sarily a Jew.[67] And yet the Jew is an alien in our civilization, unfitted by his very "brain convolutions" from entering fully into the current of the life about him![68] Thus we begin our study of the Jews with emphasis on the profound and enduring importance of race; we rise to an extravagant eulogy of what appears to be the finest product of race purity; but we end by finding that it is all a matter of some mysterious spiritual affinity, that any one "can very soon become a Jew"; "it needs only to have frequent intercourse with Jews, to read Jewish newspapers, etc."[69]

This reference to the Jews is cited partly to bring out Chamberlain's eulogy of race purity; partly to expose another of his hopeless contradictions; and partly to bring out the fact that all his eloquence regarding the marvelous results of Jewish segregation in marriage is based on a very partial statement of the facts. In the first place, the racial history of the Jews is itself largely unknown and unknowable, both so far as early origins are concerned and as regards subsequent infusions of new elements. Were the Hittites, the Amorites or the Semites any of them a "pure" race? Since Gobineau's day, the Semites have frequently been looked upon as a cross of white and negro stocks, and Chamberlain shares this view. The Amorites are generally conceded to have been of blond type—but this is partly conjecture and no one knows whether they were pure blonds or greatly mixed. Even if blond, they may have been round-headed. From what we know of other nationalities, we may feel pretty certain that they were a people and not a race and contained a large infusion of brunet elements, even before the Israelites came into possession of the land of Canaan. The Hittites were a people but they must remain a rather deep mystery to the scientist, however useful to the poet, until their records have been read. Von Luschan[70] thinks it possible to classify both Amorites and Hittites as Aryans. It is fortunate that the Aryan school is passing, for we might have witnessed the

[67] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 491.

[68] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, especially p. 336 *et. seq.*

[69] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 491.

[70] "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia," *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, N. S. vol. 14, pp. 221–44.

embarrassing spectacle of some Jewish anthropologist proving that the Jews were after all fundamentally "Aryan" in "race"!

There can be no doubt of Jewish exclusiveness, but like all such institutions it is relative and not absolute in its functioning. There has been exclusiveness also of Catholics, and of various Protestant religious denominations. It is not at all improbable that a careful and extensive statistical investigation would show that there has been an even greater segregation in marriage among the French Canadians of Quebec than among the Jews of any western community. The operation of a marriage mandate is dependent on mental attitudes which vary much from time to time and place to place. It has been statistically shown that Jewish-Gentile intermarriages have in recent times been less frequent in eastern Europe than in western, reaching the proportion of one-third of all in the Jewish communities of England and the United States, they are fewer proportionately in crowded Jewish communities than where Jews are relatively few in number; less frequent among the very poor and the very rich, and in Catholic communities than in Protestant.[71] Moreover, Chamberlain himself repeatedly lays much stress on the proselyting activities of the Jews of the Diaspora, and Lord Redesdale[72] reiterates this statement.

The Church Councils of Chalcedon in 388, of Orleans in 538, of Toledo in 589, and of Rome in 743 issued decrees against the marriage of Christians with Jews. This would suggest that intermarriages must have been occurring, but such regulations and the segregation of Jews in the ghettos were reflections of popular feelings which would have prevented extensive amalgamation. Ripley emphasizes this relative isolation as a factor of artificial selection tending to produce a certain amount of racial unity among a people otherwise highly diverse. In any case, the fact remains that the Jews are to-day an extraordinarily heterogeneous people. Sephardim, or Spanish-Portuguese Jews, differ in general from Ashkenazim, or German-Polish Jews, in that, although blond traits

[71] Cf. Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation,* New York, 1920, pp. 124–8, and *Intermarriage in New York City,* New York, 1921, pp. 46–9.

[72] "Introduction," xxiii.

appear in only five per cent or so of the former they appear in from thirty to fifty per cent of the latter.[73] Louis D. Covitt[74] states that Chamberlain, Dühring, Wagner, Woodruff and others of anti-Semitic bias consider the Jews a race; Wirth, Topinard, Weissenberg, Fishberg, Neubauer and others think the Jews are only a socio-theological group; some others think them a people, and still others a nation or a nationality; Zangwill thinks they are neither race nor nation but exist only as a negative unity, by force of hostile conditions; many Jewish students think the Jews a race of relatively high purity, but many others, of the same extraction and of equal authority, think them so highly heterogeneous that they can by no stretch of the scientific imagination be considered a race. Von Luschan, Ripley, Lombroso and others are cited by Covitt as holding that the Jews are not predominantly "Semitic" but "Aryan," or indeed closely related to European Alpines.

All of which indicates that, if one choose his samples with sufficient care, he can prove any of a wide variety of theories. Without denying a certain specialization to the Jews, one will be struck with the fact that even a moderate-sized gathering of them will show Teutonic, Mediterranean, Mongoloid and Negroid traits.[75] When Chamberlain confessed the inability of the experienced adult to distinguish the Jew from the non-Jew, he confessed their anthropological heterogeneity. This is not to say that they do not display certain physical and mental characteristics in more frequent proportion than other sections of European peoples, but it is to say that the concept of a Jewish race is no more valid than that of a German race, an English race, an American race, or a Catholic race. Judaism is essentially a culture, while the Jews are best thought of as a people, though many of them aspire also to become a nation.

But as regards their special psychic or character traits one may

[73] Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews,* New York, 1911, p. 114.

[74] "The Anthropology of the Jew," *The Monist,* July, 1916.

[75] See Fishberg, *op. cit.,* and especially Chaps. VIII and IX; J. Jacobs, "On the Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* vol. 15, 1886, pp. 23–63; Ripley, *The Races of Europe,* 1899, pp. 368–400, esp. pp. 398–400; and A. Ruppin, *The Jews of To-day,* London, 1913, especially Chap. X.

well avoid hasty generalizations. Their so-called rationalism and intellectualism, their relative freedom from religious mysticism, may be primarily due to cultural factors; these traits may also be due in part to racial selection and specialization. Their adaptability, nervous energy, and intense concentration may be largely racial having been accentuated by the inbreeding and selection which were favored by persecution and exclusiveness. Moreover, it is equally important to remember that these traits are not peculiar to Jews: they may have them in unusual frequency, but other peoples also manifest them, and many Jews do not. Their financial acumen, their capacity to make money and to utilize it as the Black Magic of the modern world [76] are likewise based on both biological and social inheritance; and these also are not a peculiar possession. Multitudes of Jews live in poverty and reveal a miserable incompetency. Their eminence in finance, medicine, philosophy, music, the stage, law, jurisprudence and journalism, in science and learning [77] finds its biological basis, therefore, in qualities which they share with the rest of mankind. And whether their notable fecundity in able men is due to their inbreeding or to their remarkable heterogeneity must remain largely a matter of opinion. It would seem, however, quite as plausible to attribute it to the latter as to the former. We shall endeavor in later pages to show that neither in-breeding nor out-breeding is in itself inherently either good or bad; but there is considerable evidence to show that while continued in-breeding is necessary to the stabilization of specific characters, it may result both in an increase of obvious defects and in a general decline of vitality; while crossing may, on the other hand though not necessarily, result in a sort of efflorescence or creative synthesis which produces offspring surpassing even the superior of the parents.

[76] Sombart has said: "The Jews fathomed all the secrets that lay in money and found out its magic powers. They became lords of money, and through it, lords of the world."

[77] See J. Jacobs, "The Distribution of Jewish Ability," *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. 15, pp. 351–79; Ada Sterling, *The Jew and Civilization*, New York, 1924; and George Cohan, *The Jews in the Making of America*, Boston, 1924. For the theory that the Jews are a selected urban type, see K. Kautsky, *Are the Jews a Race*, New York, 1926.

Similar inconclusiveness attaches to Chamberlain's discussion of the cultural and religious aspects of Judaism. He presents vividly the case for the view that the Jew is an alien in Western civilization—that he is at odds with its spirit and will wreck it or dominate it unless he be kept in check or ultimately absorbed. But elsewhere he tells us specifically that "the Jew is no enemy of Teutonic civilization and culture." [78] Likewise, he implies in scores of places an innermost antagonism between Judaism and Christianity. One is pictured as the cold, formal, hard-hearted rationalism of the law, which imposes a sort of merciless justice, the other as the redeeming compassionate mercy of the Cross, bringing redemption through grace. We are told that Christ is no Jew,[79] that, whoever asserts that he is, "is either ignorant or insincere." Having implied that pure Aryan blood had been infused into the Galileans who were looked upon by the Jews as an alien people, he reaches the conclusion that "There is not the slightest foundation for the supposition that Christ's parents were of Jewish descent." [80] "The probability that Christ was no Jew, that he had not a drop of genuinely Jewish blood in his veins, is so great that it is almost equivalent to a certainty." In the region where Jesus was presumably born "there was only one single pure race, a race which by painfully scrupulous measures protected itself from all mingling with other nations—the Jewish; that Jesus Christ did not belong to it can be regarded as certain. Every further statement is hypothetical." [81]

But all this is obviously "hypothetical" since certainty is here impossible. Moreover, Chamberlain on the same page assures us that "the probability of a descent principally Semitic is very great." Thus the Jews are mainly Semitic in race—a term which he tells us includes a vast mixture of races and is only a little less dangerous than Aryan. Jesus came from a mixed-Israelitish but non-Jewish population which was principally Semitic, yet he was not related in blood or race to the Jews and "this result," though

[78] "Author's Introduction," p. lxxviii.
[79] *Foundations,* vol. I, pp. 201–28.
[80] *Ibid.,* vol. I, p. 206.
[81] *Ibid.,* vol. I, pp. 211–2.

essentially negative, is of great value." [82] Could anything be sillier? Perhaps not, though his discussion of religion is in general equally illuminating.

Here the contradictions are equally puzzling. Christ, though non-Jewish in blood was, nevertheless, by religion and culture a Jew; yet he was not the perfecter of Judaism but rather its negation. It is this, in fact, which suggests his affinity to the Aryan.[83] In any case the Jews are not a truly religious people, especially when compared with the Indo-Europeans, above all the Teutons. But, nevertheless, Christianity was very badly Semitized. In fact, the fundamental elements of Judaism were incorporated into Christianity; indeed, Christ himself was thoroughly Jewish. "Christ is a Jew, and He can only be understood when we have learned to grasp critically these peculiarly Jewish views which He found and made His own." "Whoever lived in the Jewish intellectual world was bound to come under the influence of Jewish ideas"; hence "the personality, the life and the message (of Jesus), in spite of His new conceptions, were none the less chained to the fundamental ideas of Judaism." [84] In consequence, Judaism plus the "dead hand" of Rome nearly wrecked the spiritual character of Christ's message. But all was saved from final dissolution and decay by the Reformation, "the most important event in the nineteen centuries that have passed." [85] This was no mere ecclesiastical affair but was fundamentally the instinctive revolt of deeply-

[82] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 212.

[83] The doctrine of the Aryanism of Jesus grew by suggestion and imitation from a beginning in fancy and pious wish. Chamberlain, in note vol. 1, p. 213, quotes from Jhering's *Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropäer:* "There is even in his origin something Aryan in Christ." At an earlier date the *Bayreuther Blaetter* (Jan.–Feb., 1886) and Wagner, *Werke,* vol. 10, p. 232 had openly proclaimed Jesus an Aryan. A recent popularizer of Nordic mythology in Germany, Otto Hauser, in his *Genie und Rasse,* Dresden, 1917 and his *Der Blonde Mensch,* Weimar, 1921, improves upon the doctrine that Jesus was a Nordic by finding that Mary also was blond; if now we assume that the doctrine of the virgin birth is sound, we can conclude that in all probability God-Almighty, or at least the Holy Ghost, is also blond.

[84] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 246–7.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 511.

religious, spiritually-minded Slavonic Germanicism against the alien spirit of Judaized Romanism—or should one say Romanized Judaism? Thus Western Civilization was saved for true Christianity by the spiritual clairvoyance of the mystery-loving folk-soul of the Teutons! But no sooner does Chamberlain get us all saved up in this thoroughly satisfactory manner than he begins to despair of us again and his romantic spirit finds surcease of apprehension in the dream of a real genuine German religion that will at last redeem the world from the corrupting effects of the large over-dose of Judaism with which it is still afflicted.

Schopenhauer and Wagner were largely responsible for inspiring in the minds of the German people a belief in their special and peculiar religiosity. This led on the one hand to the search for a religion specifically Germanic and on the other to the beliefs powerfully sustained by Chamberlain that the Germans had not only saved the true Christianity from complete desiccation and deformation at the hands of the Jews and the Latin church, but had given it new vital meaning for men in a new age and had spread the true evangel throughout the Aryan world. In fact, Chamberlain, whose work reflects at many points an ardent Christolatry, quite in contrast to the ardent anti-Christianism of Gobineau, seems to see the only hope of preservation from the encroachments of Romanism and Judaism in the complete triumph of a German Protestantism, a religion of justification by grace through an ecstatic faith rather than through the calculating works of a commercialized institutionalism. All of which is age old, reveals Chamberlain as an orthodox religionist and repeats ideas familiar and dear to the followers of Luther. To assist to this end, Chamberlain later published his "Worte Christi." [86]

We have given greater attention to Chamberlain than his inherent worth would merit, but his work summarizes and typifies the literature of Teutonism on its anthropological side as does no other. It illustrates almost to perfection the warp of fact and the woof of poetical imagination, colorful impressionism and romantic idealization out of which is designed and woven the fabric

[86] Munich, 1902.

of Aryanism, Teutonism, Celtism, Anglo-Saxonism, Slavism, Iberianism, Nordicism and other similar isms that find their advocates in different countries as popular tradition and historical development seem to suggest.

It is not true to the facts to deny them any validity whatever, in spite of an immense amount of exaggeration and other manifestations of race and national pride, for there is a world of difference between a recognition of the exaggerations, contradictions and absurdities of their respective claims and a denial of all validity to them. The most obvious error of the racialists has been the claim of a purity of blood and of a specific civilizing potency which facts do not bear out. But it is just as great an error on the other side to draw at once a double conclusion that all the races are equal in all respects and that, therefore, the differences in European national histories are in no way related to differences in racial composition. All historical nationalities have been more or less heterogeneous in blood, but they have been composed in part of different elements and in part of like elements in different proportions. This is clear on the physical plane if one compare England, France and Germany, in which nearly the same racial elements have mingled; but the proportions of long heads, of dark skins, of light eyes, vary from one to the other. It is a purely gratuitous assumption that there is no corresponding specialization in the realm of psychic capacities and character traits. Our criticism of Chamberlain and of his successor, Woltmann, must not, therefore, be taken as an indication of adherence to that other equally romantic and mystical doctrine, the legacy of Rousseauism in one of its manifold forms, which holds that race counts for nil and may be neglected either in sociological interpretation or in nation building.

Mr. Ernest Sellière, who has made extensive studies of certain portions of the literature of modern imperialism, effectively expresses the position of Chamberlain in the history of thought: "Chamberlainism is a clever synthesis of Schopenhauerism and Gobinism, which reflected the current state of cultivated German opinion on the problem of Pangermanism, and which opened the way for still more audacious and brutal affirmations of the mystical

alliance between Teutonism and the divinity of progress." [87] We need cite here only one example of this discipleship.—Ludwig Woltmann, like his predecessors, was a man of enthusiastic and mystical temperament. In early manhood he was a Rousseauist with fervent confidence in the natural goodness of man; he became a devoted Marxist filled with naïve and romantic faith in the redeeming power of the proletariat; but following the repulse of the Bernstein revisionist movement and in consequence also of an increasing influence of Nietzsche over him, he became an equally ardent disciple of the doctrine of the providential mission of the blond German.[88] He was much influenced also by the work of Weismann and by the theories of the school of social anthropologists studied in the next chapter. He founded the *Politische Anthropologische Revue* in 1902 and was its editor until his untimely death by drowning at the age of 37 in 1907. He wrote some sixty articles besides his books: *Politsche Anthropologie,* Eisenach, 1903; *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien,* Leipzig, 1905; and *Die Germanen in Frankreich,* Jena, 1907.

Woltmann carried out an idea which had found repeated expression in the literature of Aryanism. Ujfalvi had suggested that a study be made of the numerous paintings of Italy in order to show that the Lombards and Goths were the leaders in all phases of the Italian Renaissance. We have seen that Chamberlain likewise greatly magnified the importance of the blond Teuton in the revival of culture in the twelfth century. That glorious epoch, however, was followed by an equally disastrous decline. "This catastrophe demands only one explanation: the disappearance of the creative minds, in other words, of the race that had produced them. One walk through the gallery of busts in the Berlin museum will convince us that, in truth, the type of the great Italians is absolutely extinct to-day." [89] Following these suggestions, Woltmann made a thorough study of the great galleries of

[87] *Houston-Stewart Chamberlain, le plus récent philosophe du Pangermanisme mystique,* Paris, 1917.

[88] Ernest Sellière, "Une école d'impérialisme mystique," *Revue des deux mondes,* Mar. 1, 1909.

[89] *Foundations,* vol. 1, p. 193; also vol. 1, p. 539.

Italy and of France, and thereafter published the above-mentioned works of 1905 and 1907.

His zeal was unflagging and his credulity commensurate thereto. For him, "the most distinguished men in modern spiritual history were, for the most part, Teutons of the full blood," such as Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, Voltaire and many others somewhat less famous. "Others show an admixture of the brunet race," such as Dante, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Shakespeare, etc. These latter "were geniuses not because of but in spite of their mixed blood. Their endowment was an inheritance from the Teutonic race." Similarly, Julius Cæsar and Alexander the Great were Teutons; even "Napoleon was probably a descendant of the Vandals." The reader will not hesitate to award full force to the word "probably" in this last quotation.

"The Teutons are the aristocracy of humanity; the Latins, on the contrary, belong to the degenerate mob." No wonder the Triple Alliance failed to withstand the test of war! "The entire European civilization, even in Slav and Latin countries, is the work of the Teutonic race. The Papacy, the Renaissance, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic empire were achievements of the Teutonic spirit." "Whoever has the characteristics of the Teutonic race is superior. All the dark peoples are mentally inferior, because they belong to the passive races. The cultural value of a nation is measured by the quantity of Teutonism it contains." [90] Like his masters also Woltmann found the reason for the decline of Spain, Italy and France in the gradual reduction of the proportion of Teutonic stock.

Only an elated enthusiast could have perpetrated the following: Donatello was a Bardi whose German ancestors ought without doubt to have borne the name of Barth; Vittorina da Feltre, the restorer of humanism, was attached to the noble house of Ramboldini, whose name appears to be Lombard. Giotto, Alighieri, Bruno, Ghiberti, Vinci, Santi, Vecellio, Tasso, Buonarotti are in the German Jothe, Aigler, Braun, Wilbert, Wincke, Sandt, Wetzell, Dasse, Bohurodt; likewise Velasquez, Murillo, Vaz were

[90] Quoted in *Out of Their Own Mouths,* New York, 1917. See especially chapter IV.

Velahise, Moerl, Watz, Visigoth names, while Aronet, Diderot, Gounod formerly were pronounced Arwid, Tietroh and Gundiwald.

The principle followed by Woltmann in all this was that a single trait was sufficient to classify one with the Teutonic aristocracy. Although the pure Teuton had blond hair, blue eyes, and a light complexion, any one of these traits would indicate Teutonic ancestry and therefore account for any genius which their possessor displayed. Thus the Italian Cherubini had black hair and coal black eyes, but his complexion was clear, and that was sufficient to mark him, without doubt, as another of the great Germans of the Italian Renaissance. And one may wonder what Woltmann would have done with Madame Sevigny with one eye blue and the other black. Doubtless he would have attributed her superiority to the one blue eye. But as Sellière remarks, "Sometime the Chinese, having become conquerors, may lay claim to the genius of old Europe through their round-headed Alpine cousins." [91]

With all this and much more as a back-ground, one is prepared to understand more clearly some of the ludicrous seriousness, the injured innocence, and the blasphemous religious insanity of many Germans in war time. Solemn and even world-famous professors such as Sombart, Preuss, Deissmann, Harnack joined the church pastors in a laudation and adoration of the German people, that, while not dissimilar in essence from similar religio-patriotism in other countries, was nowhere equalled in breadth or depth. God became "the German God"; there was even a revival of Thor worship as more fitting the special character of the German people; the Germans became the chosen people, God's anointed, with a Divine mission to take the leadership and guidance of humanity. And when the storm of world criticism over the conduct of the Belgian invasion broke in upon the German consciousness, the German nation became "itself transformed into a suffering Christ," "betrayed by those to whom we had shown nothing but justice and kindness," etc.[92]

[91] *Revue des deux mondes,* 1909.

[92] See for numerous extracts the *Gems of German Thought,* compiled by William Archer, New York, 1917, especially pp. 78–84 and 88–94.

No doubt one must discount a great deal these war-time excesses. A relatively calm observer of his own countrymen in America could not but be amazed at the frenzied theorizing of honored professors, the worshipful praise of "Anglo-Saxon culture" in contrast to the execration of "German" "Kultur," the denial of elemental constitutional liberties in the promotion of a war in behalf of liberty, justice and democracy, and the blood-thirsty revengefulness of Christian pastors preaching a gospel of hate in order to arouse the nation to the frenzy of war. Yet the fact must remain that the doctrines of race purity and race superiority had a perceptibly larger political significance in Germany than elsewhere. There they had been somewhat more systematically cultivated and had to a great extent become foundation assumptions of a conscious cult.

Nemesis arrived for all in the Great War, and along with it most extreme and ridiculous reassertions of the identity of race and nation. While German writers and politicians, professors and theologians were busily arousing their people to frenzied zeal for a holy war in defense of Teutonic "Kultur" and its spread to the less civilized national races of Europe, the latter were equally busy demonstrating that the Germans belonged to the race of Nietzsche's "blond beasts" according to their own admission, or that they were not European and Teutonic at all but Asiatic "Huns" who lacked all elements of true "culture," knew nothing of liberty and democracy, were un-Christian barbarians in the midst of Christian Europe and in the interest of a truly Christian civilization should be slaughtered to the last man, woman and child.

This theory of the German Hun, long since exploded, has an interesting history. In the Franco-Prussian War the partial destruction of the Natural History Museum at Paris instigated the director, de Quatrefages, to write his *La race prussienne* (1871) in which he sought to show the Finnic origin of the Prussians. Through the Finns the Prussians were said to be connected with the Lapps who were Mongolian invaders of Europe, a theory not wholly improbable but incapable of proof. The Lapps are strongly brachy-cephalic of a definitely Mongoloid type, but the character

of the original Finns is not clear. They were probably brachycephalic, but there is authority for assuming them to have been "Nordic" conquerors of a pre-Finnic Alpine type in whom they were submerged. In any case the Prussians are overwhelmingly round-headed, as are also their neighbors along the Baltic, the Lithuanians and Esths, all of whom along with the Finns are as blond as the idealized Nordics. In this connection we may note that Madison Grant [93] considers the Finns an early Nordic type, while Dixon [94] inclines to the view that the original Finns were round-heads, though he considers the matter really insoluble. Moreover, whereas Grant finds the upper half of the Prussians "Teutonic," and the lower half "merely Teutonized Wends and Poles," Dixon finds them overwhelmingly brachycephalic, probably to eighty per cent. A reply to de Quatrefages by Professor Virchow of Berlin, a man of uncommon scientific candor, started a furious controversy of facts and suppositions which had one valuable result in the official census of the hair- and eye-color of over 6,000,000 school children in the German Empire. This revealed not only a progressive brunetness from the Baltic Sea southward, but also that the simple combination of light hair and light eyes or dark hair and dark eyes was even less frequent than some sort of mixture of lightness and darkness. Virchow, who published the results in 1886, found also that less than forty per cent of Jews were characterized by homogeneous hair- and eye-color, just as the British Anthropometric Committee had found in 1883 that more than twenty-five per cent of their cases showed a combination of light eyes and dark hair. Thus the evidence of the extraordinary racial heterogeneity of the west European population slowly but certainly accumulated. One may indeed wonder whether consciousness of the utter falseness of their claim to be the Teutonic type *par excellence* was the reason why the domineering Prussians prevented anthropological studies of the present German population while encouraging extensive studies of physical types in most of the rest of the world?

Professor Hans F. K. Günther in a recent work of great erudi-

[93] The Passing of the Great Race, New York, 1916, p. 60.
[94] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130–3.

tion but strong Nordic inclination, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Völkes,* 5th Ed., Munich, 1924, concludes that the Nordic ingredient in the German blood is somewhere around 60 per cent, and that the other ingredients are: Alpine, 20 per cent; Dinaric, 15 per cent; Mediterranean, 2 per cent; and Mongoloid, 3 per cent. He considers this only a scientific guess and adds that nearly all Germans are hybrids. He estimates the number of pure Nordics at 6 to 8 per cent of the population. (pp. 208–9.) He is also able to show in numerous passages that the constitution of the German population varies greatly from valley to valley. This finding differs from Ripley's conclusion of rather uniform gradations from north to south in stature and complexion. It is, however, exactly in line with the recent work of Fleure, James and others on the English population, showing a much greater heterogeneity than had heretofore been supposed. (See our references to their findings, pages 217 and 276 *et seq.*) I think we may considerably discount Günther's figure as to the percentage of Nordic blood in the German nation. (See Parson's study of German prisoners of war, below, pages 192–3 note.)

It may be useful at this point to reflect on the reasons for the success of such theories as those of Gobineau and his successors and imitators in Germany, France, Italy, Scandinavia, England and the United States. There can be little doubt that one of the primary reasons is our general ignorance of historical processes. We are victims of our sociological naïveté. In consequence, any interpretation, written in a glowing, passionate style, enlivened with picturesque phrases and a sweeping imagination, and all asserted with a confident dogmatism, is almost certain to find a wide following.

Another reason is that the relative simplicity of interpretation makes such a theory at once readily comprehensible and nearly self-evident. Amidst the vast maze of historical facts the greatest variety of theories of interpretation can find substantiation, much as any theory of life and morals can find its appropriate text in inspired scriptures. Contradictions are either overlooked or made to serve the major premise. But of all reasons for the success of Aryanism, Teutonism, Celtism, Anglo-Saxonism, Slavism, Latin-

ism and similar isms the most potent, as has been noted in preceding pages, is the appeal to race pride, the subtle flattery of the ego.

All these three reasons are illustrated in Gobineau's explanation of Chinese civilization as due to an infusion of Aryan blood. Similarly, if the Aryan Greeks excelled in art but showed deficiency in political organization, it must have been due to an infusion of the Semitic stock with its component of Negro blood, so characteristic of the Mediterranean basin. Likewise, the practicality of the Macedonians was due to their yellow ancestors, while the Etruscan ancestors of the practical Romans were yellow Finns. The beauty and inexhaustibility of this simplicity is realized when one applies the theory to phenomena unknown or little appreciated seventy-five years ago. Thus, the art of Japan can be explained by an infusion of negroid blood from islands further south; while the art of the Cro-Magnons of a newly discovered prehistoric age would be certain evidence of their African ancestry.

It seems to the rigorous intellectualists to-day, as it seemed to their naïve forbears in the rationalistic movement of the eighteenth century, Rousseau, Mably and Condorcet, that education and the growth of science will, in the future, safeguard society from the easy delusions of such dogmatic and simplistic explanations and emotional appeals to pride and ambition. But this is to overlook the profound fact that illusions, especially of superiority and power, are primary elements in the faiths that men live by. It is unusual for even the scholar to pursue truth unalloyed in the fields of religion, history, and the social sciences. Preservation of ancient values or the propagation of a new heresy arouse the ardor of contending factions vastly more than love of the truth which shall make men free. As for the masses of any nation, they hug their illusions as almost the dearest part of life. The scholar's history is not that of the public schools, while Papini's life of Christ thrilled millions who had never read a single page of a critical and objective study of the same personage.

It is aside from our purpose to enter into an extensive survey of the literature of German imperialistic thought, but it seems worth while to cite in a paragraph an instance of how Teutonic idolatry combined with the selectionist doctrines, which we shall

soon analyze, to create the mirage of a marvelous pan-Germanic rulership. J. L. Reimer's *Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland* is such a work. It represents only one of many forms into which were cultivated the imperialistic ambitions of a people who were taught by numerous currents of suggestion to think of themselves as called upon to reorganize the world after the manner of their own superlative genius. It would be unfair to the general intelligence of the German people to assume that they were all agreed on this pleasant fiction; there was much scientific opposition and a deal of ridicule. Moreover, this particular work is not typical of the imperialistic literature in that it pictures a proletarian imperium. But its basis is so clearly laid in the myth of Teutonic supremacy that it partook of the same spirit as did the vast flood of writing and speaking derived from the same sources.

Reimer is convinced that "the German alone is to the German an invincible enemy"; and that for four centuries the hegemony of the world has been in dispute between various European peoples each of which was led and controlled by its Germanic element. Like his predecessors, but with the usual variations according to individual taste, he finds that the Roman Church, the brilliant reign of Louis XIV, the French Revolution, etc., were all due to the special genius of Germanic leaders; that France has at times come very near to establishing a universal German empire, though under a false Gallic label.

But Reimer combined with his ardent Teutonism an equally ardent Socialism. The attitude of the various Teutonists toward the proletarian movement is not without interest. Gobineau and Chamberlain looked upon it as wholly alien to the true Aryan or Teutonic spirit, as tainted with Semitism, or as in some way a strange expression of inherent brachycephalic servility. Lapouge had espoused the cause of the proletarian in his earlier days partly as representative of a much needed revolt against the monopolization of wealth by the Jews; but after unsuccessful efforts to get a following among the workers for his particular brand of revolution, he discovered that Socialism was a very dangerous and surreptitious form of Clericalism and would in the course of time greatly assist in the propagation of the morality of slavery through

an alliance with Catholicism. Reimer, however, follows Woltmann in believing that the propounders of egalitarian doctrines were not mongoloid brachycephals, and that the very aspiration on the part of the workers to improve their status is an indubitable indication of their possession of that German blood which has an unquenchable need of progress.

He would, therefore, establish a world rulership of pure-blooded German workers. This would not be based on that ideal of international equality which was cultivated by the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, but rather on the acknowledged divine right of the German people to rule. In order to provide room for expansion of the rapidly growing German population, it would be necessary to conquer France, Italy and Austria, but the other smaller neighbors would be incorporated into the empire by *"persuasion."*

Permanence and security would be given to this fantasy by the establishment of a caste system based on varying proportions of German blood. The upper caste would constitute the *Civita Germanica* and would be composed of Germans of the pure blood, those ideal Teutons of the long heads, blue eyes, blond hair, clear skin and tall stature. While they would have full political privileges, the caste below, which would be composed of those with more or less German blood, the half-castes as it were, would have restricted privileges. The definitely non-German persons would have no political rights. These last would be treated with consideration for their material welfare, but the safety of the state and the future of civilization would require that every effort be made to insure their sterilization. On the other hand the full fecundity of the Germanic element would be released by polygyny, which seems to be divinely ordained for that very purpose, since men are polygamous by nature while women are instinctively attached to monogamous unions. Finally, like a true state builder, Reimer would unite the whole structure by suitable religious traditions. In order that the lower classes might be happy and content in their slavery, Catholicism would be encouraged among them. But this would be prohibited for all pure Germans, for whom an optimistic

pantheism full of affirmation of the joy of living would be established.[95]

Our brief sketch indicates that the historians, the poets, the philosophers, the race dogmatists, the statesmen and diplomats and even the scientists contributed their share toward the growth of those imperialistic ambitions among Western nations which made the Great War inevitable. But to say that they were responsible would be superficial and inadequate from the informed sociological viewpoint. Imperialism is a complex phenomenon and we are constantly finding for it simplistic explanations. In a broad way one may say that it results from the action of the social milieu on persistent traits of human nature. In the social milieu must be included not merely the literary expressions of poets, philosophers and historians which represent the effects on sensitive minds of impinging social forces, but also the geographical situation, the historical background of national tradition, the political environment with its age-old rivalries, the economic resources and needs, and the presence of talented and ambitious men. The human nature factor is fundamentally the desire for life, the will to live. Out of this grows the desire for security and from this in turn the desire to rule, to control, for the ends of life and security. Of all the factors making for imperialistic activities these qualities of human nature are the most important; but they are meaningless apart from the perennial fact that life is at bottom a struggle; not only a struggle for mere existence but for material goods adequate to satisfy indefinitely expansible wants in a world of scarcity and toil. It is because of them that such activities constitute an impressive aspect of universal history. Modern imperialism clearly is not due solely to the capitalistic form of economic organization, for there were many imperialisms before capitalism, while the ambitions of Soviet Russia are a most uncertain guarantee of brotherly love among nations in that Utopian age where all are communistic imperiums. In all ages and at all stages of social evolution men have sought to secure life for them-

[95] See Ernest Sellière, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1909.

selves by removing all fear of their neighbors through conquest and domination. Success in the struggle for existence leads to growth in numbers and economic power; it multiplies needs, contacts and material interests abroad and thus becomes a constant stimulus to the use of conscious power to control the territory and people deemed essential to future security and prosperity. In consequence, a social group abounding in the vitality and confidence which success brings, is urged on to further expansion by its expanding desires, its self-assurance, and a mystical consciousness which it acquires of having a rôle to play in the evolution of civilization. Rome found that the limit of this process was set only by the limits of the then known world.

It may be true that the modern phenomenon of imperialism is, in many of its superficial features, an expression of the capitalistic system of industry. But the responsibility of capitalism is incidental. This does not explain the American imperialism of 1803 or 1846. Nor can our imperialism of 1899 be explained apart from the desire to rid the Western World of a European power with possessions at our very door. Back of German imperialism was the great expansion of German industry, the enormous increase of population and the multiplication of wants. Equally important was the fact that the world was steadily becoming smaller and the opportunities for the necessary continued expansion in sources of food and materials and markets was believed to be disappearing. Rivalries were intensified by both factors. But these same factors account for the imperialism of France and her expansion in Northern Africa, the similar imperialism of Italy, the imperialism of England and her expansion round the globe. Human nature in all these nations is so much alike that the patterns of the group reactions are so similar as to warrant one in saying that if nations were to change places each would soon share the feelings of his former enemies. Moreover, only a naïve optimist can hope that the world's demands for food and security can be so clearly satisfied at any time in the near future as to remove the danger of ever new manifestations of imperial ambitions.

CHAPTER V

ANTHROPO-SOCIOLOGY OR SOCIAL SELECTIONISM

THERE is a tendency for every science to move from a stage of vague ideology, through a stage of general observation to a stage of quantitative expression. If the members of the Gobineau Vereinigung in Germany gave his doctrines an appearance of verisimilitude by a vast assemblage of pertinent philological, archæological and anthropological observations, the statistical test, to be sure in a sufficiently crude fashion, was applied by a closely related school of thought which arose during the last decade of the nineteenth century under the name of "Anthropo-Sociology" or "Social Selectionism." They evidently began their researches with little predilection for Gobinism. G. Vacher de Lapouge, who was their principal representative in France, appears not to have read the *Essay on the Inequality of Races* until 1894 or some years after many of his characteristic ideas had been published.[1] He was, however, familiar with many of Gobineau's ideas inherited, as he says, through Broca.[2] The school came to see in Gobineau, in any case, their forerunner, "leur homme de génie," the great organizer of their system of thought.[3] Nevertheless, they represent a new phase of racial determinism. If they strengthened, at least in Germany, the doctrine of special blond dolicephalic superiority, they weakened that doctrine from the impartial view-

[1] Otto Ammon, *Histoire d'une idée. L'Anthroposociologie,* trans. by H. Muffaug, Paris, 1898, p. 6.

[2] *Race et milieu social. Essais d'anthroposociologie,* Paris, 1909, "Introduction," p. xxv.

[3] See Muffang in *l'Année sociologique,* vol. 1, 1896–7, p. 521, and Lapouge, *op. cit.,* p. 175.

point, and opened up quite an array of extremely interesting social investigations.

They are characterized by efforts to apply the fundamental doctrines of Darwinism, as then conceived, to the problems of population and social life, and especially by efforts to elucidate the detailed operation of heredity and selection as factors in the social processes. Thus Lapouge in opening his last important work in this field, *Race et milieu social,* defined Anthropo-Sociology as the science "which has as its object the study of the reciprocal action of race and environment."

Broca ("Les selections," *Revue d'anthropologie,* 1872, pp. 683–710) had used the term "social selection" to indicate that in the social group the processes of natural selection are supplemented or displaced by social standards of value and success. Natural selection "develops the traits useful to the individual as a member of a species"; social selection "develops the traits useful to an individual as a member of a society." Jacoby [4] had pointed out the selective action exerted by the growth of cities. All members of this school were not in agreement on the question, whether natural selection has ceased to operate on man, nor as to whether social selection was a part of natural selection, but were agreed that in civilized society natural selection was greatly supplemented, if not overcome, by selective processes set up by the social milieu. The scope given to these processes was most completely defined in the writings of Lapouge [5] who saw all history and the essential processes of social life in terms of struggle for existence, elimination and survival, heredity and race substitution. The drama of history was resolved into a conflict of anthropological elements. Selection was seen to operate not only through war, but through various political, legal, economic, moral and religious institutions, whereby now this racial trait and now that was given some survival advantage. In these respects his views were

[4] *Études sur la sélection dans ses rapport avec l'hérédité,* Paris, 1881, pp. 294 and 395.

[5] *Les sélections sociales,* Paris, 1896, and *L'Aryen, son rôle social,* Paris, 1899.

characteristic of the entire school, as they are to-day of the more extreme eugenists.

But it must not be supposed that the operation of social selection was viewed by the anthropo-sociologists as always beneficent, or race improving. For while natural selection strengthened and perfected racial type, social selection, operating through differential rates of fertility, too often assured the triumphs of the mediocre and eliminated the superior, *les eugéniques*. Lapouge used the term "internal selection" to designate the varying success with which individuals and families meet the social conditions essential to generating and rearing posterity; and the term "interstitial selection" to designate the invasion of the group by alien elements which meet with success, propagate their kind, and thus modify the hereditary traits of the population. Thus, from a study of seventeenth and eighteenth century skulls in a cemetery at Montpellier he found that those from tombs of the upper class had an average cephalic index of 74.8, while those from the common cemetery had an average of 78.3. This indicated the superior success in internal competition of the narrow-skulled people. Such triumph was viewed as indubitable proof of hereditary superiority and as an indication of the operation in social life of at least a rough sort of natural justice whereby the more able and energetic are enabled to win the prizes of life. Later he found constant evidence of "interstitial selection" in the increasing brachycephalization of the French, and indeed of all the west European populations, explained by the gradual invasion and greater survival power of the round-headed brunet. He thus saw in history a constant process of race substitution. "The proportion of races in a population varies without cessation." [6] He saw in Western Europe the continued sterilization of the successful long-headed classes and thus reached a pessimism regarding the future comparable to that of Gobineau. Thus the final outcome of the processes of social selection were viewed as ominously destructive of those racial qualities which create and maintain a

[6] "La race chez les populations mélanges," *Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics,* Baltimore, 1922, vol. 2, p. 5.

progressive civilization. Such views were common to the entire school of social selectionists and this pessimistic outlook is still often reiterated.

The continental school of social selectionists were thus interested primarily in the operation of biological principles within the body politic. They made a vast number of concrete measurements, mostly of the cephalic index. They were less inspired by poetical romanticism than Chamberlain and many of his confrères, though they had their own points of psychic fixation leading them to exaggeration and self-delusion. The bearing of their doctrines on nationalist ambitions was singularly like that of Gobineau's in that their chief French representative was more eagerly listened to in Germany than in his own country. In fact, Lapouge[7] scornfully remarks that it is only the caricaturists of anthropo-sociology, such as Chamberlain and Finot, who think it is the theory of the superiority of the Aryan race, "de la race demi-divine aux yeux de ciel et aux cheveux de lumière." Nevertheless, both Lapouge and Ammon, the founders and chief exponents of the school, spoke constantly of the Aryan race as superior and frequently implied or openly asserted the correspondence of their Aryan with the tall, long-headed blond. We shall see that their data were scarcely capable of such interpretation, but this did not prevent their interpretation in such manner as to strengthen the belief in blond superiority. Lapouge[8] complains that "Chamberlain et d'autres littérateurs politiques" have constructed false theories out of the exact data of anthropo-sociology which have become the basis of German imperialism. Nevertheless, Chamberlain makes no reference to Ammon and only one to Lapouge, and that has to do with his classification of the European races, although these men were at the height of their fame when the *Foundations* was written. It was through Woltmann's *Revue,* which received numerous contributions from Lapouge, that the latter made his impression on the Gobineau Vereinigung.

In many respects the work of Francis Galton makes him an English representative of this school. Ammon relied on him for

[7] *Race et milieu social,* pp. vii-viii.
[8] *Op. cit.,* p. xxiv.

both statistical and biological principles, but his work is so free from any characteristic racial and nationalistic biases that it stands somewhat apart. Founder of biometry and eugenics, he was from the first primarily interested in the differences of individuals within racial and social groups rather than in the hierarchy of races. Thus, instead of explaining the decline of Spain after the manner of the Gobineau school as due to the dying out of the blond Gothic strains, he emphasized the dysgenic selective action of religious intolerance and persecution in destroying the creative and originative minds arising within the Spanish population. Galton was as much a devotee of selectionism and heredity as Ammon and Lapouge, and was, indeed, the predecessor and mentor of both; and in his work and that of his successor, Karl Pearson, we have the outstanding representatives of these doctrines in the English-speaking world. But neither of these writers contributed to the doctrine fundamentally characteristic of Aryanism in its various forms, that there is a definite rank of inferiority and superiority of racial types within the European peoples. Pearson has strongly asserted the general superiority of white over primitive races,[9] and Galton endeavored to state the quantitative superiority of classical Greeks over modern Europeans and of whites over negroes.[10] Neither of these inquiries, however, had any relation to the special doctrines of dolicho-blond supremacy whose history we are sketching. Galton was, however, responsible for inspiring Lapouge to emphasize the possibilities of positive eugenics through selective mating and the purposeful elimination of the unfit, possibilities which the latter's vivid imagination and energetic spirit led him to sketch in the most fantastic fashion. Moreover, Lapouge and Ammon, like the English-speaking eugenists, were alarmed lest the growth of public assistance and other forms of social solidarity in checking the beneficent operation of natural selection in eliminating the less capable members of society should exert a deleterious influence on the future physical and mental powers of man.

By all odds the most conspicuous representative of this school

[9] See his *National Life from the Standpoint of Science,* London, 1902.
[10] *Hereditary Genius,* London, 1869.

was G. Vacher de Lapouge who began his literary career by a series of articles in the *Revue d'Anthropologie* for 1887 and 1888 in which, in the manner of Woltmann nearly twenty years later, he claimed that (1) the periods of greatest activity and progress in France had followed fresh infusions of Teutonic blood—Norman, Frankish, Gothic; and (2) that the superior individuals belonged to the tall blond stock or were hybrids closely approaching it.[11] At this time he also advanced the theory that the declining birth-rate in France was due to the low fecundity of hybrids.[12] In 1889 he began a series of measurements of crania of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with comparisons with modern crania and between noblemen and peasants. He was able to show an increase in the cephalic index with the passage of time and the greater dolichocephaly of the upper class.[13] While at first he shared the doctrine of Gobineau, which he inherited from Broca, that the social superiority of the Teutonic types in France was due to conquest, he became convinced that race substitution and social stratification were the current results of a perpetual conflict of anthropological types carried on within the structure of the established social order.[14] His data and theories were expanded in *Les sélections sociales*.[15] Three years later appeared his *l'Aryen, son rôle social*,[16] a work which in some respects represents the apex of blond-dolichocephalic Aryanism in France.[17]

[11] *"Les Sélections Sociales,"* 1887, pp. 519–50, and *"De l'inégalité parmi les hommes,"* 1888, pp. 9–38, especially p. 17.

[12] *La dépopulation de la France,* 1887, pp. 69–80.

[13] Results published in *Revue d'anthropologie* for 1889, and *l'Anthropologie* for 1891, 1892 and 1893. For a comparison of early German, Reihengraber skulls and modern heads by Ammon showing the increasing brachycephalization see his *Natürliche Auslese,* p. 67.

[14] See *Race et milieu social,* pp. xxv–xxvii, and 293.

[15] Paris, 1896.

[16] Paris, 1899.

[17] For an available summary of Lapouge see articles by C. C. Closson, especially "Social Selection," *Journal of Political Economy,* vol. 4, 1896, pp. 449–6; also, "Recent Progress in Social Anthropology," *ibid.,* pp. 410–12. See also his "Ethnic Stratification and Displacement," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* vol. 11, 1896, pp. 92–104; and "The Hierarchy of European Races," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 3, 1897, pp. 314–27.

His classification of the principal European races is of considerable interest. It was similar to the classifications coming into current use in the writings of Beddoe, Broca, Livi, Topinard and afterwards adopted by Ripley, with some change of name, thenceforth to become the generally accepted classification. Likewise his characterization of these types has been widely accepted. Ripley[18] cautiously accepts it as probable, while Madison Grant and his school have faithfully and whole-heartedly repeated it in almost school-boy fashion. He found as many as ten distinctive types in the European population of which three were of pre-eminent historical import—*Homo europæus, Homo alpinus* and *Homo meridionalis* or *mediterranæus.* The *Homo europæus* was described[19] as the tall, blond, long-faced, dolichocephalic stock which originated in the North Sea basin, probably in consequence of climatic selection, and spread all over Europe, North Africa, into Persia, India and even China, and now dwells in greatest purity in the British Isles, Northwest Europe, America and Australia. This race is synonymous with the legendary *Aryas.* It is psychologically extremely variable, but in its better types, which are most characteristic, it is domineering, self-reliant, enterprising, ambitious and courageous. This race has great needs but possesses energy corresponding thereto. It is adventurous and filled with an urge for progress. It excels in the creation and the preservation of wealth; it is gifted with great foresight and capacity to take into account distant places and events. In religion it is Protestant; in politics it loves liberty and individual independence of action.

Sharply contrasted is *Homo alpinus.* This type is shorter in stature, medium to dark in skin-, eye-, and hair-color, and has round head and round face. It is typified by the Turk and the Auvergnat, predominates in France, Switzerland, North Italy, Southern Germany, Poland, Austria, the Balkans, and farther east. Though it has become a fixed type through in-breeding and selection, it was originally a hybrid. Psychologically it is frugal, cautious and industrious; gifted with common sense (*le bon sens*), and

[18] *The Races of Europe,* Chap. VI, pp. 103–30; also pp. 457–75.
[19] *Les sélections sociales,* pp. 17 *et seq.; L'Aryen,* p. 370.

attached to tradition. It absorbs rather than creates ideas; though industrious, it works slowly and without intensity. While the *Homo europæus* has the aggressive solidarity of the hunting pack where each seeks to be first in attacking the prey, relying on his comrades for aid, *Homo alpinus* knows only the timid defensive solidarity of the flock of sheep where each seeks to hide himself behind his neighbor.[20] The Alpine has for generations been "the perfect slave, the ideal serf, the model subject, and, in republics such as ours, the citizen most highly praised because he tolerates every abuse." [21] It varies little and hence produces few geniuses. It is Catholic in religion, dependent on state action in politics, opposed to individual excellence and superiority, worships mediocrity, and is fearful of progress. Its foresight does not extend beyond the immediate needs of self and family, while problems of statecraft are beyond its powers. It was *Homo europæus* which accounted for the civilizations of the Greeks, Romans, and Western Europe. It has for many centuries been the dominating race, and even to-day, when pure types are very rare because of the mixture of blond and brunet, those individuals who play the most important rôles in society greatly resemble the master race of other days.[22]

Lapouge also distinguished *Homo mediterranæus,* the dark dolichocephal, exemplified in the Neapolitan and the Andalusian, but gave it less precise psychic characterization, because it comprised varied types. He added that the hierarchy of races corresponded to the order established by Gobineau.

Lapouge's Aryanism is the logical culmination of his theories of social selection. His own observations together with those of his fellow countrymen, Durand de Gros, Collignon and Muffang,

[20] For a repetition of this comparison as between Germany and England respectively, but with England made the socialized bee rather than the gregarious sheep, while Germany is made the wolf in man's attire, see Wm. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War,* New York, 1917, p. 201.

[21] *L'Aryen,* p. 233.

[22] Topinard gave a briefer but in many respects similar psychological characterization of these two types in *L'Anthropologie et la science sociale,* Paris, 1900, pp. 547–8.

the indefatigable labors of Ammon in Germany, and the researches of Chalumeau in Switzerland, of Weisbach in Austria and numerous others elsewhere had accumulated a great quantity of actual statistical measurements, all apparently pointing to the same conclusions. They were partially supported and partially contradicted, as we shall see, by similar observations by Livi in Italy, Oloriz in Spain, Beddoe in England, Houzé in Belgium and Ripley and Closson in America. But there can be little doubt that, regardless of explanations, the fact of the social pre-eminence of the dolichocephalic type, or even of the dolicho-blond type seemed clear. But while Lapouge was ardent and gifted with the qualities of imagination essential to the highest scientific work he was also independent and critical of many current dogmas. He was far from accepting the many tenets of Gobinism as preached in Germany by Schemann's Vereinigung; nevertheless his writings undoubtedly strengthened Teutonic worship in Germany.

Instead of being an adherent of the doctrine of race purity, he held that there was no such thing as a pure race, to say nothing of a Germanic, a Slavic or a Latin race. "On pourrait presque dire qu'il y a dans chaque individu des échantillons de toutes les races, et que par suite il n'y a pas de race pure." [23] He held that all nations were racially composite, but that their rank in civilization was determined by the character and quantity of the original elements which entered into their constitution. In his *l'Aryen,* he declared that "five or six thousand years before our era, at the earliest possible epoch, at the beginnings of Aryan civilization, there already existed in central Europe and the British-Scandinavian region a confused mixture of types. It was because of this panmixia among the hordes of migrant barbarians within the historical period that the social ascendancy of any given anthropological type could not be explained by the enduring effects of conquest. But he held that certain combinations of traits are physically stable and tend continually to re-establish themselves in a high degree of purity amidst a mixed population. These are the fundamental European races. The blond dolichocephal was one such type, which by some mysterious law of biological affinity

[23] *Race et milieu social,* p. x.

of specific traits, was being constantly restored out of the millions of possible mozaic combinations among the racial elements present in Europe. The social superiority of a particular racial type was to his mind not due to the persistent effects of conquest, nor indeed, to differences in social opportunity, but rather to the superior energy and intelligence which would enable a more gifted racial type to triumph over a less gifted one in the free for all struggle of social life.

The Aryan question, therefore, resolved itself into a determination of which race or type had been socially predominant and thus the creator of civilization. In view of the undoubted domination of the tall dolichocephalous blond during the recent historical period and a growing mass of data tending to show its urban affinities and class superiority, Lapouge was convinced that this type represented the Aryan of myth and tradition. He, however, preferred to avoid designating it as the Aryan race, substituting instead the Linnæan designation *Homo europæus,* whose cradle-land he agreed with Penka in placing in southern Scandinavia.

Of coeval importance with Lapouge in founding the doctrines of social anthropology were the patient and extensive researches of Otto Ammon. His first contribution came as an unexpected result of an investigation of the army recruits of Baden undertaken at the instance of a learned society at Karlsruhe in 1886. Among many other things he found that there was a difference between rural and urban populations as regards hair-color, eye-color and head-form. The most striking difference was in the cephalic index which was found to approach mesocephaly, or 80, in each of the four cities, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe and Lörrach, while the index for each of the surrounding rural districts was distinctly brachycephalic, approaching 85.[24] Thus for the city of Heidelberg 37.5 per cent of the city recruits were long-headed or had a cephalic index of less than 80, while only 17.9 per cent of rural recruits were in this category. At the other extreme, brachycephals, or those with an index of 85 or more, constituted only 4.6 per cent of the city recruits but 25.4 per cent of the

[24] Results published in *Anthropologische Untersuchungen der Wehrpflichtigen in Baden,* Hamburg, 1890.

country. Ammon also noted that in absolute measurements the heads of city recruits tended to be longer and narrower than the heads of those from rural districts.

These facts seem to have been independent discoveries by Ammon and yet as early as 1868 and 1869 Durand de Gros, on the basis of anthropological studies in south-central France, had noted the relatively greater frequency of long heads among town dwellers; and about the same time (1868) Calori had made observations at Modena in Italy revealing a like condition; even in Germany it had been noted by von Holder (1876) that the upper classes were more prone to long headedness and the peasants to round headedness.[25]

This superior dolichocephaly of urban populations, or the concentration of dolichocephals in the city, came to be known as Ammon's Law, and became the chief point of contention between the anthropo-sociologues and their opponents.

How explain this phenomenon of urban dolichocephaly? Finding, from measurements on the same children year after year after age twelve,[26] little change in the cephalic index, Ammon rejected the possibility that urban life, with its richer foods, education and cerebral excitation, might have a tendency to produce an elongation of the skull, and concluded in favor of certain selective processes. He believed that the dolichocephals showed a stronger inclination to city life and a greater aptitude for success there than the brachycephals. This theory was further developed on the basis of numerous observations in his *Die natürliche Auslese beim Menschen.*[27] This is his fundamental work, but his theories were set forth with their full bearing on social life in a later work, *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen.*[28]

[25] Cf. Ripley, *Races of Europe,* pp. 545–6.

[26] Cf. Boas, "The Form of the Head as Influenced by Growth," *Science,* N. S. vol. 4, 1896, pp. 50–1.

[27] Jena, 1893.

[28] Jena, 1895; French translation by Muffang, *L'Ordre social et ses bases naturelles. Esquisse d'une anthroposociologie,* Paris, 1899; for an English translation of a very interesting chapter of Ammon's work by C. C. Closson, a one-time student under Lapouge, see *Journal of Political Economy,* vol. 7, March 1899, pp. 204–37.

Ammon identified various selective social processes with natural selection on the animal plane. He presented the social order as a highly complex mechanism of selection whereby social values are secured and the individual given his due. Like Galton he emphasized the unequal inheritance of human aptitudes which, he contended, are distributed among the members of a group according to the mathematical law of chances. Through the division of labor, competition and numerous tests of fitness and ability the better endowed individuals rise to the positions of greatest social importance.

Social classes differ one from another in the distribution of human traits both morphological and psychological and thus are an unexcelled instrument of natural selection in society. By means of them those strains which succeed are segregated sufficiently from those which fail, to prevent panmixia and to insure the transmission of their superior endowment to the next generation. If the social selective processes should elevate a strain unequal to the status to which it is lifted, it will sooner or later sink to its natural level through the combined action of natural selection and legal justice. Now, the upper classes of the cities, which are notably blond and long-headed, have a greatly reduced fecundity, partly voluntary but partly due to their intense intellectual activities; hence the community must have a reserve of sound and super-fertile population from which to draw the necessary renewal. This is supplied by the rural population, from which is steadily drawn, as if by a powerful magnet, a stream of fresh recruits for the more strenuous and more stimulating life of the cities. Under the intense competition of the urban centers these new elements gradually find their level. Many fail and are eliminated; some meet with fair success, while others move to the top. By and large, justice is done the individual, while racial vigor and soundness are maintained. Ammon's conclusion was, therefore, in some respects optimistic in tone. Nature will in the long run, and by and large, guarantee the success of the superior and the survival of the better. This may involve the replacement of one racial type by another but the outcome is progressive

and improving because of the infallibility of the operation of social and natural selection.

Ammon had adopted and his finding fitted admirably into the suggestive theory that had been advanced by George Hansen (*Die drei Bevölkerungsstufen, Munich,* 1889) that there are three fairly well-defined physical and psychic grades in a population. It had long been a truism among social statisticians that there is a constant drift of population from country to town and city. Sir John Graunt had first demonstrated it in his "Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality . . . of the City of London" in 1662. At that time and for nearly two hundred years later city death rates exceeded city birth rates so that cities were dependent upon the country as a sort of inexhaustible nursery, not merely for their growth but even for the maintenance of their numbers. With the development of modern sanitation and the reduction of death rates cities have come to be largely self-generating, if not self-perpetuating.[29] But this fact does not affect the essence of Hansen's system. Ammon found that only 8 per cent of the conscripts of the cities of Karlsruhe and Freiburg were born to parents also born in the cities. Hansen found that nearly half of the population of various other German cities were the direct offspring of rural parents. Lapouge calculated for thirty large European cities that four-fifths of their increase was due to influx from the country.[30] What concerns us here is Hansen's doctrine that the more energetic and ambitious of the country youth migrate to the city where, entering life for the most part on its lower social levels, they undergo rigid tests of their physical and mental powers. Some rise to the professional ranks, more swell the ranks of the commercial classes, while many remain on the industrial levels or sink below the level of individual competency. Ammon added the theory that the migrants are composed of long heads in disproportionate numbers; that the rural

[29] But see S. J. Holmes, *Trend of the Race,* pp. 345 *et seq.*

[30] Professor Giddings, *Principles of Sociology,* pp. 125 and 337–44, has brilliantly criticized and expanded Hansen's theory; cf. also Ripley, *op. cit.,* pp. 542–4.

population, therefore, tends to become more and more brachycephalic; that the dolichocephals are more persistent amidst city conditions; that, therefore, the city populations tend to become more and more dolichocephalic; and that, in the struggle for life and success in the city, the dolichocephals are more successful, so that the upper classes are more dolichocephalic than the lower.

So much then for the general viewpoint of the anthropo-sociologists. Let us now take a look at some of their concrete data. In the late eighties and throughout the nineties they were most assiduous in the making of measurements of the cephalic index of townspeople and country-folk, professional men and workers, migrants and permanent dwellers and the construction of endless tables. Great numbers of these tables included categories so small as to be worthless in themselves, though some weight may be attached to the fact that, even when small, they generally supported conclusions similar to those drawn from more extensive ones. This homogeneity of results of both large and small samples is, indeed, one of the most convincing evidences of the validity of the general fact most insisted upon by this school. Criticism applies not so much to the fact, therefore, as to the interpretation.

For purposes of illustration we may reproduce certain data from Ammon's works which are so fundamental that they were frequently reproduced by Lapouge and others.[31] In his *Anthropologische Untersuchungen* of 1890 Ammon demonstrated the urban concentration of the dolichocephals by the following table:

Percentage of Long Heads and of Round Heads Among Urban and Rural Conscripts of Baden.

	Dolichocephals Index less than 80		Brachycephals Index 85 and over	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Mannheim	43.4	34.8	10.4	14.5
Heidelberg	37.5	17.9	4.6	25.4
Karlsruhe	33.0	13.0	16.5	32.9
Loerrach	25.8	21.4	25.8	28.8

[31] See especially *Race et milieu social*, pp. 125, 126, 127, 190 and 202.

From this it was obvious that the city population was more frequently long-headed, less frequently round-headed, than the rural population round about. In order to test the matter more thoroughly Ammon analyzed his data according to three groups which he distinguished in the city population: the *urban,* those born in the city of fathers also city-born; the *semi-urban,* those born in the city of fathers born in the country; and the *semi-rural,* those born in the country but migrant to the city. He was then at pains to show that the migrants from country to city were more dolichocephalic than those left behind, so that the rural population tended to become more and more brachycephalic while the dolichocephaly of the city was maintained, or even increased. These facts are illustrated in the following table taken from his *Die natürliche Auslese*:[32]

Cephalic Indexes of Various Migrant Classes at Karlsruhe[33]

Average for the district	83.0
Baden immigrants (Semi-Rurals)	83.1
Non-Baden immigrants (Semi-Rurals)	82.5
Semi-Urbans	81.5
True Urbans	81.4
Born at Karlsruhe, father born in another city	80.2
Born in another city; father also	81.2
Born in a city; father in the country	80.3
Born in the country; father in the city	82.8

When analyzed into the percentages of long heads and round heads in each of the above classes the matter was much more striking.[34] For example, at Karlsruhe he found that dolichocephalic individuals (index less than 80) constituted only 12.2 per cent of rurals while they comprised 14.9 per cent of immigrants or semi-rurals, 25.9 per cent of semi-urbans, and 33.3

[32] P. 91.

[33] We omit from this table his figures, far from convincing, tending to show that in absolute measurements the urbans had heads both longer and narrower than the rurals. He was not consistent on this point.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 82.

per cent of urbans. On the other hand, brachycephalic individuals (index 85 or more) constituted 38.2 per cent of rurals, and 33.3 per cent of semi-rurals, but only 18.4 per cent of semi-urbans and 12.4 per cent of urbans. The results for Freiburg were exactly similar in revealing an increasing dolichocephaly and a decreasing brachycephaly as one moved from rural to urban groups. The above figures were apparently viewed as the most important of all of Ammon's tables.

Finally, the relative success of different types in the competition of city life was tested by studying the distribution of head-form among students of the gymnasia. He found that, for the three upper classes of the four gymnasia at Karlsruhe and Freiburg taken together, in all 111 students, those born in the country showed an average index of 82.7, the semi-urbans, 82.4, and urbans 81.0. For the lower group of 80 students, which was less subject to processes of elimination, the averages for the same categories were respectively 83.3, 83.1 and 82.9.[35] Such minute differences in averages as these are frequent in the literature of anthropo-sociology, but in repeated investigations the differences were, as a rule, arranged in the same order and hence supported the general case. These data indicated the lesser brachycephaly of the upper strata of society, inasmuch as the successful students constituted the recruits to the professions.

In spite of the fact that most of the vast arrays of measurements which this school made were of brachycephalic types—the averages being usually definitely above rather than below 80—the cities and the upper classes revealed less brachycephaly, whereupon the data were interpreted as showing the urban affinity and the social superiority of the dolichocephal. The *less* brachycephalous very often became the dolichocephalous. The final conclusions were at length formulated by Lapouge in the form of "the fundamental laws of anthropo-sociology."[36] They are as follows: (1) Law of the distribution of wealth: In countries where races are mixed,

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[36] These were originally published in the *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 6, 1897, pp. 54–92, and *Revue scientifique*, Oct. 1897, and repeated in *L'Aryen*, 1899; also in *Race et milieu social*, 1909.

wealth increases inversely as the cephalic index. This conclusion was derived from the fact that the political divisions with the lower cephalic index had the greater wealth, as shown by taxes paid, personal property, etc. (2) Law of altitudes: In areas of mixed population, the dolichocephals, *Homo Europæus,* live at the lower altitudes. It had long been established that the Teutonic type was more frequent in the low-lands and the Alpine in the up-lands. (3) Law of the distribution of cities: Important cities are almost all located in dolichocephalic areas, or in the least brachycephalic of the brachycephalic areas. That is, cities are located in the low-lands or along rivers and sea-coast. The alternative in this law following the word "or" is designed to meet the difficulties raised by Livi's investigations in Italy [37] in which it was shown that northern Italy is at once more brachycephalic than southern Italy, has greater cities, more wealth, etc. (4) Law of urban indexes: The cephalic index of urban populations is lower than that of surrounding rural populations. This was Ammon's great demonstration and the primary basis of all anthropo-sociology. In the minds of both Ammon and Lapouge it carried the implication that the mortality among the round-heads in cities was greater than that among the long-heads. (5) Law of concentration of dolichoïdes: Migrating elements concentrate by attraction in dolichoïde centers. This means merely that cities attract migrants. Cities—in France and Germany—were richer in long-heads and in wealth. Migrants have in all ages and climes moved to centers of wealth and opportunity. One may also note the euphemism of the word "dolichoïde"; it suggests dolichocephaly but it means "less brachycephalic." (6) Law of emigration: It is the less brachycephalic in any population who emigrate. It should be noted that in this law the migrants are said to be "less brachycephalic" rather than "more dolichocephalic." It became clear that in France and Germany the migrants cityward were in many areas overwhelmingly of brachycephalic type; but it could still be maintained, with truth, that they were on an average "less" round-headed than the average of the areas whence they came. Our explanation of this fact on a later page is the

[37] *Anthropometria militare,* Rome, 1896.

basic criticism of anthropo-sociological "laws." (7) Law of urban elimination: Urban life operates selectively against brachycephalic elements. This law was derived by logical inference from the same data as (4) and (5). It is another way of saying that the cities remained relatively dolichocephalic. Collignon [38] advanced the thesis that the round-heads return to the country, thus maintaining the long-headedness of the cities; but there was no convincing proof of this. Nor was it shown that, in fact, the surplus of births over deaths among the round-heads was less than among the long-heads. (8) Law of *formarriage*: The cephalic index of offspring of parents from different regions or countries is less than the average index in the places of origin. This means merely that the children of immigrants show a lower cephalic index on an average than does the population of the provinces or departments whence came their parents. It does not imply that such children reveal any tendency toward a narrowing of skull. It is specious and not significant. (9) Law of social stratification: Upper classes are more dolichocephalic than lower classes. From the statistics of students it was concluded that the round-heads tended to be eliminated in competitions for the higher social positions. They would, therefore, be most frequent among industrial workers. (10) Law of the intellectuals: Brain workers have craniums large in absolute dimensions, and especially in breadth. We note later that the greater absolute breadth of intellectuals worried the anthropo-sociologues not a little. (11) Law of epochs: Since prehistoric times the cephalic index has steadily increased, everywhere in Europe. This last was supported by investigators in nearly every European country. It was of great importance in Lapouge's estimate of the future of Europe for he foresaw the complete obliteration of the blond dolichocephal and then a long European night. It is obvious that this "law" conflicted with the repeated assertion of the higher urban mortality of the round-heads and the greater urban persistence of the long-heads, but this contradiction passed without comment. While Lapouge formulated this statement of the "laws," Ammon emphasized the substance of all but the first three.

[38] Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

Analysis shows that the essence of anthropo-sociological doctrine is contained in Ammon's so-called law of the urban concentration of the long heads and their triumph there over their rivals. Most of the "laws" are merely restatements of this fact from different angles. It may be recalled that in the struggle of classes in modern industrial centers the social selectionists, Lapouge, Collignon, Ammon and their followers, readily discerned a new form of the age-old struggle of races. This was an idea that had been advanced by that ardent defender of feudalism and aristocratic class prerogatives, Comte Henri de Boulainvilliers, two centuries earlier. It was repeated during the Revolution by Abbé Siéyes, and subsequently by Guizot, Gobineau, Gumplowicz and many others. It has found its proper form under the various metamorphoses of Aryanism, Teutonism, Anglo-Saxonism and Nordicism. Would it not be interesting indeed to have an anthropological survey of our Ku-Kluxing "Anglo-Saxons!"

It was because of his urban concentration that Ammon endowed the dolichocephal with a taste for novelty and adventure and the brachycephal with a disposition at once pacific, thrifty, reflective, and conservative and with a predestined attachment to the soil. It is, therefore, of the highest importance to examine fully the reasons for the relatively greater frequency of long-heads in the cities of France and Germany.

The underlying fact is an historical one, namely, the later arrival in western Europe of the Alpine type. As Ripley frequently indicates, the round-heads filtered into western Europe by a slow process of immigrant invasion.[39] Coming as they did around and through the Alpine highlands they tended generally to occupy areas of higher elevation, as the uplands of south Germany and the Vosges, Savoy and Auvergne in France. The round-heads were also found concentrated in such isolated areas as Brittany. But, through the advantages of accessibility, the cities developed in the river valleys and along the coast. Each of them had what Lapouge called a "zone of attraction." For the village this zone was small and purely local; for Paris it was all France and even beyond. The result was that the round-headed stock was relatively

[39] *Op. cit.*, see especially pp. 470 *et seq.*

less frequent within the zones of attraction of most of the cities. This is the central and crucial fact of the whole matter. It is particularly noticeable that the cities studied by Ammon—those of the upper Rhine valley—and by Lapouge—Montpellier and smaller places near the Mediterranean littoral—had backgrounds of high elevation and Alpine concentration. Migration was therefore from brachycephalic to less brachycephalic territory in their data. The cities, then, were from the beginning relatively dolichocephalic because the indigenous population had been long-headed and because the Teutonic invaders had taken possession of the river valleys and sea coasts. They tended to remain less brachycephalic than their hinterland because of their original constitution and because they drew extensively from the accessible lowlands. The cities of France and Germany were inevitably becoming more round-headed because as they grew they drew more and more from the brachycephalic hinterland.

It is here one meets a curious fact and a crucial one. It was maintained that it was the long-headed type which migrated—and yet the cities were becoming more and more round-headed. In fact the tables of both Ammon and Lapouge, especially the latter, show that the migrants were predominantly brachycephalic. And yet, it was said with truth that the migrants were on an average less brachycephalic than the population of their province or department on an average. In order for this to be true it was only necessary for the dolichocephalic types to constitute a slightly larger contingent of the migrants than of the non-migrants. This is clearly what was happening, and is readily explained by the relative frequency of long-heads in the more accessible areas. It was not a question of race but of geographical propinquity on the one hand and of cultural isolation on the other plus the capriciousness of a statistical proportion.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the mass of the migrants were brachycephalic. It is shown in nearly every table where actual numbers of migrants are given. Lapouge, for example, repeatedly published the following table [40] showing the distribution over 70,000 migrants from the department of Aveyron in

[40] Cf. *Race et milieu social*, pp. 121 and 208.

the heart of the Auvergne region. The cephalic index of Aveyron is given as 85.5 and this may rightly be taken as the approximate index of the migrants. These Aveyronese went in great numbers to the departments of the Seine (26,736) which is credited with a cephalic index of 81.5, and to that of Hérault (18,191) with an index of 82.5.

EMIGRATION FROM AVEYRON

Departments Receiving 1000 or More Migrants	Number	Index of Receiving Department
Aude	1294	81.0
Bouches-du-Rhône	4098	82.2
Cantal	2697	87.0
Gard	2228	83.1
Haute-Garonne	3289	83.4
Gironde	2207	82.6
Hérault	18191	82.5
Lot	1927	85.9
Lozère	1178	87.8
Rhône	1043	86.0
Seine	26736	81.5
Tarn	4607	83.7
Tarn-et-Garonne	1471	85.8

Natives of Aveyron, 456,068; those remaining, 374,162; emigrants, 81,906.

It is evident from this table that most of the migrants went to departments with a lower index than that of Aveyron. The only exceptions are Lot, Lozère, Rhône and Tarn-et-Garonne, all of which received small contingents. But it is equally evident that the migrants themselves were distinctly brachycephalic. The same conclusion may be drawn from a companion table showing migration into the department of Hérault from fourteen other departments. Of the 88,289 immigrants, nearly 80,000 came from areas where the average cephalic index was higher than that of Hérault which was 82.5. Taking the averages of the departments whence they came as the averages for the migrants one finds that the index for these nearly 80,000 approaches 85, while that of the

remaining 8,000 exceeds 80 on the average. Unfortunately these tables do not show the spread or range of cephalic index within the various contingents. From other tables one may reasonably suppose that the range was from around 65 to around 95. But there can be no doubt whatever that the vast majority of the migrants studied by both Ammon and Lapouge were round-headed.

Ripley [41] relying on Topinard and Demolins remarks: "Why does not the Alpine type appear through statistical eyes as endowed with a peculiar aptitude for migration? For the sterile upland areas of his habitation are almost invariably characterized by emigration to the lowlands and to the cities." And yet he lends some support to Ammon's view "that there is some mental characteristic of the long-headed race or types, either their energy, ambition or hardiness, which makes them peculiarly prone to migrate from the country to the city; or else, what would compass the same result, a peculiar disinclination on the part of the broad-headed Alpine race of central Europe thus to betake itself to the towns." [42] This latter induction was erroneous.

There was thus a contradiction between the conclusion that the Teutonic type was peculiarly wanderlustful and the fact that the majority of migrants were round-heads. But this brings us face to face with another contradiction. Ammon laid special stress on the superior success and survival power of the long-heads in the cities. He seemed to see the brachycephals so badly worsted in the struggle for life that they melted away before the superior vigor of the dolichocephals. He pictured the round-head migrants as being crushed out in one or two generations and the long-heads as also disappearing but only after three or four generations and after they had achieved some degree of social distinction. But he also says: "In general the lower classes of the cities are richer in dolichocephals than the rural class." [43] And yet, both he and Lapouge recognized and emphasized the increasing brachycephalization of western Europe, both city and country. In fact,

[41] *Op. cit.* p. 523.
[42] *Op. cit.* p. 548.
[43] *l'Ordre social*, p. 197.

Lapouge pointed to the size of the current of round-heads pouring into the cities, and their fecundity and tenacity of life, as evidence of the gradual submergence of the long-heads.[44] Ammon[45] saw in this brachycephalization the revenge of the round-heads for their military and social subjection by the long-heads. Their firm roots in the soil would insure their ultimate triumph, it may be centuries hence, because the urban affinities of the long-heads insure their ultimate extinction.

Thus the "crepuscule des Aryens" already hangs like a pall over Europe. Here Ammon quotes from Alfred Fouillée[46] who had been much impressed by the discovery of the gradual broadening of west European skulls while the complexion was slowly darkening: "C'est pour ainsi dire, une russification générale et lente de l'Europe, à laquelle prend part l'Allemagne elle-même, un panslavisme ou panceltisme spontané." If then the cities, which were once the main centers of concentration of the long-heads, were growing at a prodigious rate; and if the round-heads were continually eliminated there by an excessive death rate; and if, nevertheless, the cities were becoming darker in complexion and rounder in head-form, how can one escape the conclusion that the round-heads were drawn, as if by powerful magnates, to the centers of urban life. This fact would appear all the more notable in view of the greater isolation and remoteness of the Alpines from the centers of attraction. We may note in passing that it was never demonstrated that the round-heads showed less survival power, or a lower vital index in the cities.[47] In fact, as the above argument indicates, the anthropo-sociologues implied by the logic

[44] See his "Récherches sur la dépopulation," originally published in the *Revue d'économie politique,* 1895 and 1896, and reproduced in *Race et milieu.* Also his "Evolution de la population de la France. Populations actuelles," pp. 64–70 in the latter work.

[45] *Histoire d'une idée,* p. 29 *et seq.*

[46] "Dégénérescence," *Revue des deux-mondes,* October 15, 1895.

[47] Raymond Pearl says: "The term 'vital index' may be used to designate that measure of a population's condition which is given by the ratio of births to deaths within a given time." *Studies in Human Biology,* Baltimore, 1924, p. 227.

of their own data and assumptions that the survival power of the dark round-heads in the cities exceeded that of the blond long-heads.

When Ammon's law of dolichocephalic urban affinity was first enunciated it was stated as a universal fact. It was soon contradicted, at least in part, by findings of Livi in Italy, Oloriz in Spain, and Beddoe in England. In 1894 Oloriz published data for Spain and Beddoe for England showing that in predominantly dolichocephalous areas the rural population was richer in long-heads than the urban. Similarly, in his famous *Anthropometria militare* (1896) Livi found that, although the law of Ammon held for the north of Italy, the opposite relation obtained in the south. Thus, for example, at Madrid and Barcelona Oloriz found an urban index of 77.77 and a rural index of 78.14. Here the difference supported Ammon. But at Granada and Valencia the corresponding indexes were 77.98 and 77.42. Beddoe's differences were similarly minute but on the whole tended to contradict Ammon, as did measurements by Houzé in Belgium. To the modern statistician these differences appear so painfully small that the question arises whether they are really significant or only the expected variations of samples, a question to which we recur.

But it was Livi's attack which really forced Ammon to restate his law of urban concentration.[48] The population of north Italy was found to be overwhelmingly brachycephalic owing to a large infusion of Alpines. The cephalic index fell steadily from the north to the relatively pure Mediterranean south with the result that the cities in the north were less brachycephalic than the provinces as wholes, in the center there was no appreciable difference between city and country, but in the south the cities were less dolichocephalic than the country. Livi argued that the situation in Italy as in Baden was readily explained by the fact that cities draw from a relatively wide area and thus acquire a population less homogeneous than that of the environing country and will, therefore, vary away from the latter and always in the opposite

[48] See Ammon, *op. cit.*, section V; Lapouge, *Race et milieu social*, pp. 191–5; Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 547–8.

direction. This explanation stands uncontradicted and appears adequate.

In consequence of these facts Ammon modified his position. In view of the situation in southern Italy he inferred that the Mediterraneans prove inferior to the round-heads in social competition, an interpretation which Lapouge was not inclined to accept.[49] At the same time he modified his "law" to read as follows: "Wherever a people of Germanic race is mixed with a brachycephalic people, the dolichocephals concentrate in the cities, which are, in consequence, more dolichocephalic on the average than the surrounding country."[50] This eliminated south Italy, Spain and England from the area of operation. Thus the magic of the law was extracted; for in its new form it stated nothing more than that the Alpines had filtered into south Germany and France along the highlands.

Before leaving this phase of the matter, however, there are two other features to be noted, namely, the smallness of the differences and the extent of overlapping. The smallness of the differences appears in all tables, even those of Livi which altogether comprised 300,000 conscripts, by far the largest and most reliable body of pertinent measurements. Thus in 50 of the 69 Italian provinces the difference between city and country was less than unity in each case. When Ammon's tables are subjected to statistical treatment by modern methods one finds that some of the differences between averages are less than the probable error and therefore wholly lacking in causal significance. On the whole, however, his differences are sufficiently large, small as they are, to be significant. His general case stands.

But even where the differences are sufficiently large to be indicative of a veritable cause, there is much overlapping in the distribution. This overlapping reveals itself in two ways. There is first the lack of consistency in the trends of the averages. Thus in Livi's list 11 of the 43 provinces north of Rome are contrary to Ammon's law while 6 of the 25 south of Rome support it. Such results are typical.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 194.
[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

Much more important, however, from the theoretical view point is the wide range of indexes for both city and its environs and the consequent overlapping of the measurements almost, if not quite, throughout the entire range. This overlapping is illustrated in every table. The following from *Die natürliche Auslese* [51] shows the percentage distribution of head form among 167 recruits born at Karlsruhe and 445 born in the country.

Index-Group	City-born	Country-born
Dolichocephalic	1.2	0.2
Mesocephalic	27.0	12.4
Brachycephalic	55.1	57.5
Hyper Brachycephalic	15.5	27.7
Ultra Brachycephalic	1.2	2.2

The city conscripts are thus more dolichocephalic, but the vast majority in both groups are brachycephalic. In both cases the indexes range from about 75 to above 90; differences are, therefore, not absolute. Even if the data compelled one to admit that in France and Germany the Teutonic type showed a greater tendency to migrate to the cities than the Alpine, which admission we see to be highly doubtful, if not contrary to truth, he would at the same time be impressed with the fact that migratoriness was not the exclusive possession of one type. This is an observation of even greater significance for the general theory of racial differences than the slightly greater average or frequency of one type or the other. If some of the long-heads were highly restless, enterprising and wanderlustful, some of them were extremely static, unenterprising and sedentary. The same was true of the round-heads. If some of the long-heads were irresistibly drawn to the cities by some mystical inner cravings of soul, others were immovably attached to the soil by an inertia expressive of the very essence of their being. Likewise the round-heads. As between the two types the question of superiority in migratoriness was never a question of absolute differences but of relative proportions or statistical frequencies. This is always the case in racial contrasts or com-

[51] P. 73.

parisons. Consequently sweeping characterizations of types as generally or universally endowed with this or that psychic quality are never more than qualifiedly true. For if one were to seek a group of restless, enterprising and migratory individuals he would certainly find them of different anthropological type. And if he could then be certain that his data were entirely free from every other subverting influence except the inherent tendencies of biological factors, he would be in a position to state that one type is more migratory than the other. But the superiority in this case would be robbed of much of its sociological significance for highly migratory individuals would be found in each anthropological category.

We may close the discussion of the urban affinity of the dolichocephalic type by a reference to the suggestion advanced by Professor Eugene Pittard in his *Race and History*[52] that the high dolichocephaly of the cities may be explained by the greater stature of the city populations. He advances the thesis that city conditions, especially less strenuous labor, result in greater stature and that at the same time in consequence of "a law of morphological correlation" the head grows in length more than in width. This is certainly an ill-founded theory. We have not gone into the question of stature in this essay as it is a trait of secondary importance. We may note here, however, that Quetelet in the thirties had found city populations taller than rural and had explained the fact as due to better food. Two-thirds of a century later Ripley examined all the extant evidence and found that the almost universal rule was that city populations were shorter than rural. This was explained by the rapid growth of industrial activities whose attendant conditions—child labor, bad housing, lack of air and sunshine,—stunted growth. But evidence is now accumulating that the urban populations are increasing in stature. It is not probable that this is significantly related to shorter hours, improved housing, more and better food. In any case, the trends of stature change do not fit Professor Pittard's thesis; Europe is becoming brachycephalic at the time it is becoming taller. Our own opinion is that the most important explanation of differences be-

[52] New York, 1925, p. 23.

tween urban and rural populations as regards stature, as also cephalic index, is migration. Professor Clark Wissler has recently examined the data for both Europe and America ("Distribution of Stature in the United States," *The Scientific Monthly*, vol. 18, Feb. 1924, pp. 129–43) and finds it to be a universal law that "the populations of cities will differ from the surrounding districts in both size and variability." In Sweden the city populations are shorter than the rural; in Italy they are taller; in the United States they are shorter. "It is quite improbable that either city life or mere density of population has any effect upon size, the phenomenon we have noted being entirely a matter of migration."

So much then for the mere cephalic index. L. Manouvrier in very telling criticisms [53] pointed out the uncritical and fascinated attachment of the Ammon-Lapouge school for this index to the exclusion of other anthropological data. Lapouge particularly made a fetish of the head-form; in 1887 and 1889 he had declared: "I am convinced that in the next century millions will cut each others' throats because of one or two degrees more or less of cephalic index." After the Great War he pointed to this statement as a prophecy whose fulfilment had exceeded his worst apprehensions! [54] Manouvrier also pointed to the lack of any convincing evidence of correspondence between head-form and moral and intellectual qualities.

But now we come to another extremely interesting and significant fact. Ammon made the long-headed "Aryan" at once the most intellectual and the most energetic of men. He rarely ventured to suggest the identity of his "Aryan" with the extant and authentic Teuton.[55] Perhaps the reason may be found in the fact that there was a lack of proper correspondence between the head-form and the complexion of the migrants. These latter were found to be perponderantly dark in hair-color. The eye-

[53] Especially in "L'indice céphalic et la pseudo-sociologie," *La revue de l'école d'anthropologie*, 1899, pp. 233–59 and pp. 280–96.

[54] *Eugenics in Race and State*, Baltimore, 1923.

[55] In his *Auslese*, p. 177 *et seq.*, he describes in the usual language the psychic traits and social evidence of "Die hellpigmentirten langköpfigen Germanen," saying among other things: "Wie alle Arier die Germanen die geborenen Beherrscher anderer Völker sind."

color of the migrants was sometimes lighter on the average than for the Duchy as a whole and sometimes darker, but Ammon was convinced that the dark shades were more frequent than long heads.

The following tables are illustrative:

COLOR OF EYES: PERCENTAGE OF LIGHT AND DARK [56]

	Karlsruhe		Freiburg	
	Light	Dark	Light	Dark
Average of Duchy	63.3	36.7	63.3	36.7
Average of Arrondissement	56.6	43.4	65.6	34.4
Immigrants from Arrondissement	67.5	32.5	51.5	48.5
Immigrants from Baden	59.0	41.0	63.2	37.8
Non-Baden Immigrants	67.7	32.3	—	—
Semi-Urbans	55.5	45.5	69.2	33.8
Urbans	64.6	35.4	52.1	47.9

COLOR OF HAIR: PERCENTAGE OF LIGHT AND DARK [57]

	Karlsruhe		Freiburg	
	Light	Dark	Light	Dark
Average of Duchy	43.5	55.0	43.5	55.0
Average of Arrondissement	31.7	67.4	23.5	66.2
Immigrants from Arrondissement	27.5	72.5	22.6	75.4
Immigrants from Baden	30.8	68.2	29.8	69.5
Non-Baden Immigrants	38.1	60.3	—	—
Semi-Urbans	25.9	72.1	31.3	67.5
Urbans	37.5	62.4	27.1	66.7

Lapouge, whose attachment to the blond dolichocephal was most pronounced, was put to the greatest ingenuity to explain the attraction of the city for, not the long-headed merely, but the dark complexioned. He discovered [58] that there were certain brachycephalic Aryan hybrids which had the head of the latter and the complexion of the former. Moreover, the use of pomades by

[56] *Die natürlische Auslese,* p. 97.

[57] *Die natürlische Auslese,* p. 102.

[58] *Race et milieu social,* pp. 205–6; similar passage in Ammon's *Auslese,* pp. 229–30.

city-folk would make their hair appear darker. He also discovered that "urban life provokes in the individual a re-balance of pigment, whereby the skin becomes lighter and the hair and eyes darker"! He also thought that the vitality necessary to resist the exhausting and abnormal life in cities was more frequently found among the dark complexioned, an argument which directly controverted the general thesis of blond superiority. Thus the long-headed brunet became "the foreordained urban type."

We need not pause here to discuss the matter further than to note that this predominant brunetness of the migrants accords with the facts already noted that the migrants, in the regions studied by Ammon and Lapouge, were overwhelmingly Alpine in their main racial characteristics, though doubtless much mixed in blood. We may also note the fact, sometimes mentioned in this literature, brought out by Ripley and since then re-emphasized by numerous investigators, that the light Teutonic eye has been remarkably persistent among the hybrid types of western Europe. It is so persistent as to indicate at least its partial dominance over various darker shades. There remains the question whether the brunet types have a higher vitality, a more resistant constitution.

This matter was thoroughly surveyed by Ripley.[59] He found the extant evidence of special brunetness of city populations to include Germany, France, England and Italy. This evidence was very extensive, including, as it did, Virchow's study of 6,000,000 school children in Germany, Georg von Mayr's study of 760,000 school children in Bavaria, Livi's great work which covered 300,000 conscripts, Beddoe's extensive studies in Great Britain, and numerous others. He found also that various observers had reported a greater resistance to disease among brunets than among blonds. Baxter had noted it among Civil War soldiers; Beddoe among children of Bristol. Ellis explained the superior resistance to disease by woman as due to her darker color. Finally Ripley pointed out that, if in some way pigmentation is an index of vitality a two-fold selection would operate to increase urban brunetness.

[59] *Op. cit.*, pp. 555–9.

There would be a greater frequency of brunets among cityward migrants; and a greater resistance by them to the hardships of city life. "It would determine the character both of the urban immigrants and, to coin a phrase, of the urban *persistents* as well."

It is worth while to add to this summary by Ripley the conclusion reached by F. G. Parsons in his recent study of "The Colour Index of the British Isles" [60] to the effect that city populations in Great Britain and Ireland are as a rule more brunet than the surrounding country, but that, in areas of great nigrescence, the city populations are less dark than the surrounding populations. This again points to the fluidity of urban populations as the principal explanation. But Parsons also inclines to the view that there is some selection against the blond types in the city environment.

We come then to the law of social stratification or the asserted superiority of the dolichocephal. It has been a favorite doctrine since Gobineau, and especially in these later days, that the tall, dolichocephalous blond, the genuine Teutonic or Nordic type, was particularly frequent among the upper classes. We have seen that Chamberlain felt compelled, in order to include all aristocracy within the ranks of his Teutons, to make the latter include brunets as well as blonds. The social selectionists seemed at times to try very hard to make themselves believe in the social superiority of the *blond* long-heads, but facts are stubborn things and this school professed a deep loyalty to statistical tables. And the tables showed too frequently that brunets were more numerous than blonds among those of high intellectual rank. We may attack this problem, as we did that of urban affinity, by asking, first, whether the intellectual classes were in fact predominantly long-headed, and secondly, whether they were in fact predominantly blond.

The facts regarding long-headedness are precisely the same as they were regarding urban affinity. In France and Germany the students, who were taken as representative of the upper classes, were more dolichocephalous than the conscripts from the same provinces. In Italy this was true in the north but the reverse held

[60] *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 50, 1920, pp. 159–83.

true in the south.[61] Under the curious hypnotic spell which the cephalic index had cast over the anthropo-sociologues they made the long skull the secret of intellectual power. They revived Gall's phrenology in a new and indefinite form. For them head-form determined psychic qualities.[62] And yet they made the long-headed Mediterranean inferior to the round-headed Alpine and they would have been the last to admit the Negro, most dolichocephalous of races, to the ranks of the chosen people.

As regards complexion we find here somewhat the same contradiction we met in studying urban affinity. The students were in Ammon's data darker in both hair and eyes than the corresponding conscripts.[63] This would have indicated that the *dark* long-heads were especially drawn to intellectual pursuits. But Ammon, in a thoroughly self-contradictory manner, testified that he found evidence that the Teutonic Aryan type, or blond dolichocephal, tended to be reconstituted among the upper classes from the mélange of anthropological elements found there. How would this be possible in view of the special predominance of brunet types among the intellectuals? Ammon confesses the weakness of the case in his excuse that the pure Aryan disappears before complete reconstitution has been attained. "Mais la disparition arrive avantque le but soit atteint." Moreover, he emphasized the extensive hybridization of the German population and asserted that pure types are becoming more and more rare with each passing generation. But this would not result if there were any general tendency toward atavistic returns of ancestral types. In Baden, for example, he found only 1.2 per cent of the conscripts were Teutonic in stature, head-form and color of hair, eyes and skin, while only 0.6 per cent were at once short, round-headed and dark. Ripley,[64] quotes Ammon as writing that he had not in many thousands of heads found one which in all respects repre-

[61] See the extensive table reproduced by Lapouge, *Race et milieu social,* pp. 208–10, from *Statistiques anthropologiques du Ministère de Guerre italien.*

[62] See Ammon, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

[63] See *Auslese,* pp. 222–30, especially p. 229.

[64] *Op. cit.,* p. 108.

sented the perfect Alpine type; in his *Zur Anthropologie der Badener,*[65] a truly monumental work, Ammon after a most painstaking analysis concluded, that there were in 6800 conscripts 1.45 per cent pure North Europeans and 0.39 per cent pure Alpines. In this case the *Nord-europäeischer Typus* comprised blue eyes, blond hair, white skin, long head and a stature of at least 170 cm.

All of this indicated inevitably that most members of the upper classes should be of mixed type. Indeed, Ammon is struck with the great frequency of long heads combined with dark complexions among the professional classes, and ventures the opinion that "as regards intellectual traits, a slight infusion of brachycephalic blood proves advantageous in that it tempers the over-ardent spirits of the Aryans with qualities of calculation and perseverance and thus renders them more apt at scientific pursuits." But he would warn against attaching much weight to mere complexion because one meets persons of true Germanic type as regards skin, hair and eyes, but who have round heads and, therefore, are of brachycephalic psychic type! The head-form is the thing; it determines the shape of the brain and hence the psychic type.[66]

But just here we meet another anomaly, set forth by Lapouge as the "law of intellectuals." It had been noted by Durand de Gros that the heads of the upper classes are larger in absolute dimensions, both length and breadth, than those of the lower classes. This was confirmed by Ammon, Beddoe, Lapouge and Collignon. It also appeared that the increase in breadth tended to exceed the increase in length, so that the cephalic index was elevated. Beddoe and Houzé considered the broader heads the more capacious. In other words the intellectuals as a special class showed a tendency toward largeness and roundness of head. This "law" thus contradicted the closely related "law" of class stratification. Lapouge was thus driven to call the intellectual "un eurycephale, un faux brachycephale." [67] Moreover, from studies in Spain and England where brachycephalic stock was absent, it appeared that the heads

[65] Jena, 1899, p. 210.
[66] *Histoire,* pp. 14–5 and 27.
[67] *Race et milieu social,* p. 212.

of the educated were less dolichocephalic than of the uneducated.[68] Confirmation of these facts is found in a very interesting and discriminating work by Alfred Niceforo, *Les classes pauvres. Recherches anthroposociologiques et sociales.*[69] He made a careful anthropometric study of several thousand children divided according to economic status into "Aisés" and "Pauvres." He found [70] no appreciable difference in cephalic index, but a greater circumference of head and greater weight of brain among the "Aisés." Blue eyes as well as blond hair were less frequent among the "Aisés." There was, of course, much overlapping in the distribution of the two classes.

We are thus landed in almost hopeless confusion. By one law we are told that the cephalic index lessens as we move from peasants through artisans to professionals. By another we are told that intellectuals, especially students from whom professionals are recruited, show a propensity toward broadness of head. In spite of subtle suggestion that the blond Teutonic type is the possessor of superior energy and brains we find the professional and student classes marked by a predominant brunetness. It would appear that the anthropo-sociologues discovered a mare's nest. In view of the evidences of unusual mixture of types among the upper classes it would have at least been more logical to explain superiority in intelligence and energy as due to selection and the crossing of superior strains, rather than as due to the presence of one of the two obvious elements.[71]

Some confirmation of this interpretation may possibly be found in the facts presented by Ripley [72] regarding the distribution of artists and men of letters and science in France and in Italy. In France the relatively dolichocephalic river valleys greatly excel; but in Italy an equal pre-eminence attaches to the brachycephalic north. In both countries the areas of superiority correspond to

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[69] Paris, 1905.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 50 and 51.

[71] For additional evidence that the brains of the upper classes are larger than those of the lower see Part II, *infra.*

[72] P. 523 *et seq.*

areas of greatest urbanization.[73] Urban centers doubtless attract the more able, energetic and ambitious within their zones of attraction. These marry there and become the progenitors of the majority of the nation's genius. But cities are also the centers of the most numerous and powerful cultural cross-currents. There are three reasons, therefore, why cities prove especially fecund in men of genius. There is, first and possibly of great importance, some as yet unweighted advantage in the frequent crossing of racial types which cities facilitate. There is, secondly and probably more important, the intermarriage within the city of the selected individuals of unusual gifts from the surrounding population. And there is, thirdly, and equally essential, the wide range and intensity of cultural stimulation which cities give the various kinds of talent born within them.

Little remained, therefore, from the vast labors of the school of social selectionists to support the doctrine of the biological superiority of the Teutonic type. Lapouge had said in his *L'Aryen* of 1899: "Il prédomine dans les arts, l'industrie, le commerce, les sciences et les lettres." [74] Ten years later he asserted that he was still waiting for some effective refutation of the theses of anthropo-sociology by equally extensive researches.[75] But we have seen that the internal evidence of the anthropo-sociologists own tables is sufficiently confusing and confuting to undermine the validity of their so-called "laws." They themselves were compelled to so modify the fundamental law of urban concentration that little was left except the assertion of the obvious. The magic of their theories was largely dissipated when it could no longer be maintained that whatever superiority existed was due either to dolichocephaly or to blondness. In fact, attention was called to the fact that the negroes, generally esteemed incapable of progress, were among the most dolichocephalous of peoples, while they themselves admitted the greater frequency of brunets among migrants and upper classes. The selectionist could still maintain that the

[73] Cf. L. F. Ward's extensive study of Odin's data, *Applied Sociology*, Boston, 1906, pp. 135–223.

[74] P. 399.

[75] *Race et milieu social*, p. xx.

difference between urban and rural head-form evidenced some sort of selective action. But the skeptic, viewing the small differences in the averages on which the theory was founded, would be strongly inclined to emphasize the great overlapping of the indices as indicating that both long heads and round heads were attracted by the glamour of the city. He would also emphasize the relation of migratoriness to physical habitat, ease of transport and communication, and the social stimulus of economic conditions and cultural contacts.

It cannot well be doubted that the power of the city operates selectively on different psychic types in the population, but that the selective action is related to head-form has not been clearly demonstrated. But, if one were to attempt to prove it statistically for American cities, he could, by a judicious selection of time and place, prove that the lower class was either predominantly dolichocephalous (south Italians) or predominantly brachycephalous (Poles and Lithuanians). An actual illustration of the fallacy of neglecting in such studies those population movements due to immigration and emigration is found in Macdonald's study of school children in Washington.[76] He found the children of the laboring classes somewhat less dolichocephalous than those of the commercial and professional classes. The former showed 8 per cent of long-heads and 52 per cent of broad, while the latter showed 13 per cent of long and 36 per cent of broad. The remainder in each case, 40 per cent of the former and 51 per cent of the latter, were mesocephalic. Differences here are obviously small; every grade of cephalic index is found at all social levels. Whether the differences are significant is doubtful; they appear to be no greater than such as might be due wholly to the variability of sampling. Whatever difference there is might well, in this country, be due to any one of several factors affecting lines of migration and immigration. The literature of Anthropo-Sociology abounds in such statistics.

In sociological explanation much that appears due to one or another obvious factor may be due merely to the accidents of time

[76] A. Macdonald, *Experimental Study of Children,* Washington, 1899.

and situation. The Norsemen, for example, are famous as the wolves of the sea, and this evidences qualities of energy and daring, but there is no way of knowing whether or not the Russian Slavs and other brachycephals of eastern Europe would have been rovers of the sea, colonizers and empire builders had their habitat been around the Baltic and the North seas. Their history does not lack evidence of migratory capacity, while their peopling of the Siberian wilds reveals the qualities essential in the pioneers of every country. Certainly those daring Phœnician navigators who three thousand years ago sought tin in Wales were far different from Norsemen in their physical type. With the improvement of contacts the Slavs have moved to America by millions, while the little Japs, shut up for ages in their Hermit Empire, now threaten to possess themselves of the vast basin of the Pacific. The negroes of the Southern States have been attached to their native soil for generations but in the last few years have moved north by hundreds of thousands. Probably the statistician of 1930 will be able to show that the negroes are the most migrant of all American stocks. Would he be warranted in attributing this to their long heads, or their dark skins? What thus appears due to race in one place seems with equal cogency attributable to some feature of the cultural environment in another.

It would, however, be an error to interpret the foregoing critique of the school of anthropo-sociologists as an indication that their work is here considered of no value. It was not only highly suggestive but contained many profound observations. Their emphasis on the operation of selection is of permanent importance. Every social situation operates, or is reacted to, selectively. Our criticism, is, in a word, that this school did not succeed in demonstrating that cities as wholes or urban strata as particulars operate selectively on European racial types. In view of the extraordinary mixture of anthropological elements this failure was perhaps inevitable.

Their emphasis on race substitution is another matter of permanent value. The work of Francis Galton and Karl Pearson have made it clear that early marriage plus high fertility contributes much more rapidly to the next generation than late marriage and

low fertility. If Pearson's conclusion [77] that one-eighth of those born become the progenitors of one-half the next generation is even roughly true, there can be little doubt that the quality of the population in modern industrial nations is changing. It may be changing more rapidly than is popularly supposed. The anthroposociologues were right in emphasizing the reversed selection set up by the sterilization of the fit in modern cities. Had they not connected this with the disappearance of a chosen race, they would have had an irrefutable case. This selection may affect the proportions of anthropological traits in the populations of western Europe and America. There seems little doubt of it. But the phenomenon is general and, so far as we know, works on the upper classes regardless of anthropological features. Where the blonds have been most numerous among the socially elect, they seem likely to become less so. It is still true as Dumont said in his trenchant study on *Dépopulation et civilization:* [78] "Si les blonds dolichocephales sont éliminées graduellement, il faut se hater de dire que c'est uniquement à raison de leur situation géographique et sociale, et non de leur race." It is not the brunetizing and the brachycephalization of Europe that threatens its racial future so much as the failure of its more able stocks to out-breed the less able. Even were one to admit, in purely general observational and historical grounds and for the sake of argument, that blond long-heads are more enterprising, energetic and intellectual than brunet round-heads, it would still be true that the social selection on which modern nations must fasten their attention is not that between such racial types, but that manifested by the different vitality indexes of differently endowed strains within every anthropological type.

One may, as Ammon was sometimes inclined to do, fall back on the easy optimism of sublime faith in the beneficent working of natural selection. In that case the brachycephalization of Europe would prove the superiority of the round-heads. But natural selection only works toward or preserves an adaptation to environmental conditions. In modern social life it happens that the stimu-

[77] "Groundwork of Eugenics," *Eugenics Laboratory Lecture Series,* No. ii, 1909.

[78] Paris, 1890.

lus of ambition sterilizes the capable while the benefits of science and humanitarianism preserve the numerous offspring of the less capable. There are grounds for supposing that this has happened more than once in the history of civilization. The periodic and rather rapid decline of cultural epochs may very probably be explained in large part by the phenomena of population decay. This is not a question, at least among European stocks, of the relative frequency of this or that physical trait, whether head-form, eye-color or nasal index, though it is not here denied that racial differences in energy and intelligence exist. It is a question rather of the over multiplication of mediocrity and inferiority in proportion to the reproduction among those superior stirps which prove most fecund in leaders and men of genius. Such a decline is followed by a slow rise of a new cultural phase which in turn may be explained in part by the regeneration of the population which the intervening period of rigorous elimination of weaker elements has brought about. These phenomena of racial change do not occur alone for they are accompanied by correlated fluctuations in social disciplines of every sort, religious, political, moral, economic. These latter disciplines are nothing other than the social selective processes or agencies envisaged by the Social Selectionists. The study of their correlations with the vital indexes of various physical types, intellectual levels and character traits is to-day the most important aspect of social biology.

So far then as that special brand of Aryanism is concerned which based its enthusiastic dogmatism on the assumed superiority of the blond dolichocephal one must conclude with Dr. Émile Houzé, a noted Belgian anthropologist of the last generation, that, "The Aryan as an ethic type is the foundling (*l'enfant trouvé*) of linguistics; anthropo-sociology has served it as an asylum." [79] This particular school of social selectionists seemed to themselves to have placed the doctrine of the social superiority of the long-headed blonds among the statistically demonstrated facts of social anthropology. If they had deceived themselves only little harm would have resulted. But they greatly strengthened doctrines

[79] *L'Aryen et l'anthroposociologie: Étude critique,* Brussels, 1906, p. 73.

upon which have been based pernicious forms of racial arrogance in Germany, England and the United States. They assisted in the inflation of Teutonic chauvinists and Pan-Germanists; they lent aid and comfort to Anglo-Saxon imperialists; they gave a sense of moral righteousness to the spirit of racial intolerance. One may say with truth that, if myth and illusion stir the human imagination and sentiments more deeply than scientific fact and thus constitute the motive powers of great historical movements, there is no *idée-force* more powerful in our age than the scientific myth.

CHAPTER VI

CELTICISM AND GALLICISM

We have several times called attention to the fact that Aryanism subdivided into a number of different branches in consequence of an irresistible tendency of each people to identify itself with a particular traditional race and to fuse the sentiments of race and nation. Patriotism tended to become the ally of race pride. While Teutonism now appears the most egregious illustration of this tendency, another striking example may be found in the cult of Celtism or Gallicism in France. It is clear to the anthropologist and the historian that France is and has long been a nation of extremely heterogeneous ethnic composition. In the earliest stages of Paleolithic culture its population was far from uniform, while the caves, river beds and burial places of France have been the most abundant source of those varied human remains on which are built present theories of ancient races.[1]

But France thinks of itself now as a Celtic nation and now as a Gallic one. There is by no means agreement among its own scholars as to who were Celts or who were Gauls, nor as to whether Celts and Gauls are fundamentally of the same racial stock. That the term Celt is a much-abused term is universally admitted, for it is now used to designate language and culture and now race. When applied to language it includes (1) Gaulish, (2) Goidelic tongues, or Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic, and (3) Brythonic tongues, or Welsh, Cornish and Breton.[2] When applied to race it designates the peoples who speak these varied tongues and thus includes a range all the way from short, very dark, long-heads

[1] Marcellin Boule, *Les hommes fossiles,* Paris, 1921; R. B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man,* New York, 1923, pp. 46 *et seq.;* and numerous works on European pre-history.

[2] *Ency. Brit.,* 11th edition, vol. 5, p. 612.

through the well-statured, moderately blond round-heads to the tall distinctly blond long-heads of the Baltic Basin. But, as we have noted, such contradictions have little effect on popular thought and feeling. The enchanting hypnosis of the gregarious impulses merge all contradictions into an idealization. But even stranger yet is the fact that this popular idealization may change from epoch to epoch in national development without losing its hold on the springs of patriotic emotion.

For several centuries in the early middle ages, the popular myth was that French people had descended from Françoin, the son of Hector of Troy.[3] At the same time the nobility cherished a vague tradition that France was conquered in a sort of Christian crusade of the Knights of Charlemagne against Saracen sinners. The Renaissance of the 16th century marks the formulation of two opposing doctrines—one of the Germanic origin of the French nation and the other of the Celtic, the Gallic or the Gallo-Roman origin. Francis Hotman, in 1574, expounded the Germanic thesis, finding among other things that the political institutions of France were founded on liberty and had endured eleven centuries in their pristine purity. But under Louis XIV the Gallic theory flourished; the Gauls had merely come back across the Rhine to their previous home; they were even of the same blood as the Vandals, Burgundians, Herules, and Huns. The Comte de Boulainvilliers (1727), however, gave the interpretation of French history a new viewpoint by insisting on the theory of conquest by the liberty-loving Germanic Francs, who, though thoroughly democratic among themselves, set up a Feudal régime which flourished with great splendor until its glory was tarnished by the freeing of the serfs and the elevation of the bourgeoisie.

A little later, the writers of the 18th century found that the Francs, instead of conquerors, were the allies of the Gallo-Romans against the barbarians of Outre-Rhin, thus reversing the theory of the previous century which made the Francs the rescuing relatives of the Gauls oppressed by the Latins. While Montesquieu and St. Simon lent their support to the theory of conquest and racial dif-

[3] See Ernest Sellière's *Le Comte de Gobineau et l'Aryanisme historique,* "Introduction," Paris, 1903.

ference, Mably, Siéyès and Rousseau, less realistic and more sentimental, returning to Hotman's viewpoint, made German liberty the race heritage of the French people, Francs and Gaulois alike, magnified the qualities of the Tiers-État and of the Gallo-Romans, or Romanized Gauls, and found in the monarchy an imposition of Roman absolutism; and thus they assisted toward the Revolution.

These diverse theories reëchoed throughout the 19th century. Especially must one note the vast amount of literature devoted to the exaltation of the Celts, who were sometimes identified with the Gauls and sometimes not, and whose genius not only gave a special character to French nationality but was an important factor in the affairs of other nations, notably Ireland and the United States. This may be viewed as a contribution from the Aryan controversy. While the very dark and short-statured peoples now speaking some branch of the Celtic languages are generally agreed not to have been Celtic in blood but to have received their speech from Celtic conquerors, there has been a bloodless feud between those who, following Cæsar and the ancient historians, would make the dominating, directing and genius-producing elements of the French population descendants of the tall blond with blue eyes and red hair, and those who contend that the basis of the French people was laid by those brunetish round-headed Celts from the central European highlands who brought with them first a bronze and later an iron culture and who have since made their full contribution to the cultural, political and military history of France. But throughout, the changing viewpoints have reflected in greater or less degree the pressing political controversies of the hour. As Sellière remarks: "The thinkers of 1820 had almost the same illusions that they condemned in their predecessors in the name of the historical sense; in their turn they became men of loves and hates, in whom the passions had changed only in name."

Nothing illustrates better the tangled skein of anthropological and historical data than this so-called Celtic question. After a full half-century of spirited debate, it is still unsettled. But in this respect it is only typical of all questions of the rôle of race in history. One can hardly form any notion of the amazing variety

of opinions that have been expressed on different phases of several European racial questions without some days of intensive reading of the literature. The Latins, the Aryans, the Celts, the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, the Slavs, the Basques have all been objects of controversy, of devoted idolatry, of frenzied animosity. Even the most scientific detachment that enables one to escape from the subtle personal flattery of race pride and the seductive bias of inherited group or class prejudices, is almost certain to accept in the end some solution that represents a compound of more or less popular tradition and of idealization. Even when one recognizes the fallacies of popular tradition he can hardly escape the deceit of language and falls back into the morass from which he has warned all others.

Take as an example the following from Mr. Joseph Widney,[4] who points out that though the Celts are commonly spoken of as one blood-folk because of their community of language, yet it seems probable that they are a composite of unlike stocks. "Kinship of speech is only presumptive evidence of kinship of blood, nothing more." Similarity of mental and physical traits is a more reliable test of racial affinity, but even this is unreliable for "the unstable Reuben, the servile Issacher and the scepter-bearing Judah all sprang from the same loins." So much by way of preliminary. Widney then proceeds to describe two types of Celts in terms which are usual and generally accepted: "one tall, blond, dolichocephalic, as the Scot of North Ireland and of the Highlands; the other short, dark, brachycephalic, as the South Irish and the Welsh; the one the true Celtic blood, the other an older subjugated race which only took on the Celtic speech." Nevertheless, "With the Celt it may indeed be questioned whether we have not to do with a whole group of races." "The Celt never kept his blood pure. The fatal Celtic facility for miscegenation has proved his race undoing. And then of all these types which was the real Celt?" The author finds the answer in "the mercurial, nimble-witted, light-hearted, sunny Irishman as the world has learned to know and to love him." The true Celts are further characterized as unstable, anarchic, quarrelsome, lacking in capac-

[4] *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples,* New York, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 162 *et seq.*

ity for coöperation, "rhetorical rather than logical," intuitive rather than rational, "quick to see, yet infirm to hold, possessed of a warm and lively imagination and withal of a vivacious temperament which enjoys life because it is life."

The reader will here begin to suspect that Mr. Widney is gifted with imagination and a special flair for phrase making. It is evident that this description applies to individuals of any and every racial group rather than to groups as wholes. Its rhetorical quality is not reduced by noting that many a negro would fit it perfectly, as would many a Jew, Spaniard, Italian or Englishman. Without much stretch of imagination it could be made to fit Lloyd George, an exemplar of those other Celts who were not Celts at all but only spoke the Celtic tongue and who are described by our author as "the stolid Welsh." And did space permit one could go on to show how our author has made this blond dolichocephalous Celt the dominant element in France, where most of the French protagonists of the doctrine that the Celts were the true Aryans identify the Celt with the semi-brunet, round-headed Alpine of medium height and complexion. We could show that he has merely gathered up a few tangled threads of fact and tradition out of which he has woven his own web of fancy, after the manner of other American imitators of the incomparable Gobineau.

That the problem of distinguishing the hereditary from the environmental influences in the traits manifested at any time and place by any group of people is well-nigh insoluble will, no doubt, be readily admitted, but we may find a useful illustration in opinions regarding the Celts. Take Mommsen's famous description of the Gauls, which has often been cited as a statement of the characteristics of the Celts. After stating that the descriptions of the ancient Celts on the Loire and the Seine reproduce "the characteristic traits which we are accustomed to recognize as marking the Irish," he continues: "Every feature re-appears: the laziness in the cultivation of the fields; the delight in tippling and brawling; the ostentation, the droll humor, the hearty delight in singing and reciting the deeds of past ages; the most decided talent for rhetoric and poetry; the curiosity . . . ; the extravagant credulity . . . ; the childlike piety which sees in the priest a father, and asks for

his advice in all things; the unsurpassing fervor of national feeling, and the closeness with which those who are fellow-countrymen cling together, almost like one family in opposition to the stranger; the inclination to rise in revolt under the first chance leader that presents himself, and to form bands, but at the same time the incapacity to preserve the self-reliant courage equally remote from presumption and from pusillanimity, to attain or indeed to tolerate any organization, any sort of fixed military or political discipline. It is, and remains at all times and all places, the same indolent and poetical, irresolute and fervid, inquisitive, credulous, amiable, clever, but, in a political point of view, thoroughly useless nation, and therefore its fate has been always everywhere the same." [5]

Babington is able to show that many of these traits are common to a barbaric stage of culture. The slothfulness in field cultivation was equalled if not surpassed by the Germans of Cæsar and Tacitus, who are also pictured as given to drunkenness, cruelty, gambling and brawling. Love of ostentation is clearly not limited to time or place, to say nothing of race, though the manner of its manifestations may take on the greatest variety of form conditioned by environmental and cultural circumstances; and it should be especially noted that it varies more from individual to individual than from tribe to tribe. Similar comment is equally appropriate to the alleged sense of humor, the love of poetry, the predilection for oratory, and the delight in old songs of ancestral prowess. These are not special or peculiar in any sense. Even the taciturn North American Indian has been declared an adept at public speech and oratorical persuasion, while even the monkeys are credited with a sense of humor manifested in practical jokes. The Germans appear less gifted in oratory than the French and Irish, but Babington notes that Tacitus found eloquence to be a source of honor for the chiefs of the German tribes while their Anglo-Saxon descendants in England and America "have what one might be tempted to term a fatal facility for public speaking." [6] The fact seems to be that a great cause discovers the natural orators

[5] Quoted by Babington, *Fallacies of Race Theories*, London, 1895, p. 192, from Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. 4, pp. 286–7.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

of a social group, while the cultivation of language and the systematic practice of the art are essential to the creation of oratorical masterpieces. No race is lacking in natural orators although most persons among all races have little natural gift for public address. That the development of oratory, or at least a florid style of speaking with a rich emotional appeal, is closely related to the general cultural background is also illustrated by its gradual disappearance among academic circles and even the more intellectual churches in contrast with its general survival to-day in the more orthodox religions and less sophisticated circles in this country. It is much more general among the old American stock of the middle west and south than among their Anglo-Saxon ancestors of New England. Nor would any informed person to-day credit the Gauls and the Irish with a special curiosity and its contradictory quality, credulity, for these like their assumed child-like piety, are too dependent on training, habit and cultivated tastes.

In like manner the unsurpassed fervor of national feeling of these ancient Gauls may be paralleled among all races and nations; even the African pigmies are said to die gladly in the defense of their native haunts. Man is a gregarious animal and when the life of his group is at stake no other emotion equals in violence his tribal devotion or his national patriotism. When, however, Mommsen speaks of the Gauls clinging together "almost as one family" and implies that this is true also of the Irish, he utters a very grim joke. It is a useful exercise in this matter to collate the directly contradictory characterizations of the same people by different writers; in any case, the most frequently alleged attribute of the Irish is their utter inability to coöperate, and their fatal tendency to fall into family, clan, and tribal feuds.

The other traits attributed by Mommsen to the so-called Celts have been amply refuted by history. They have shown no lack of capacity for military discipline; no doubt the untrained peasants who sought to resist Cæsar's conquest of their territory showed little of those qualities that come with discipline and seasoned experience; and no doubt also, the traditions and customs which put limits to the authority of officers and the necessary humility of subordinates may vary much from time to time and place to place.

Finally, if France was, nearly 2000 years ago, a nation of several score nationalities and in consequence revealed a lamentable lack of cohesiveness and capacity for political discipline, it has since become a national unity so firmly knit that all parts now cling together "almost as one family." It should not be forgotten that the Germans, from whom sprang the Anglo-Saxons, a race so superlatively endowed with political capacity that they seemed to their admirers chosen to organize the whole world politically, were also at one time broken up into some hundreds of small segments and remained until very recent times divided into more than a score of quarreling and unruly parts. Truly even Celt and Teuton, as well as Celtic Irish and Gallic French are much alike; so much so that "every feature re-appears."

This illustration should serve admirably to bring out the difficulties of all such discussion. In the first place, the characterization of a particular people is stated in terms which apply to humans in general; all races are human and there has been a vast amount of human nature manifested in their history. In consequence, instances, even striking ones, can be found among any and every people of the manifestation of almost any of the traits of man. For this reason finality can never attach to any judgment of racial differences founded on purely historical evidence. Human nature is itself so complex and so capable of contradictory manifestations under differing conditions that all groups sooner or later reveal the whole gamut of human traits. Moreover, the force of tradition, of habit, count for much in the actual manifestations of traits in any time and place. Since tradition and custom vary from place to place there is always the illusion that human nature varies with them. If many Irishmen smoke clay pipes the fact reveals no inherent predilection of Irishmen for clay pipes as over against briar ones or even cigars or cigarettes. Moreover, popular tradition, once established, always confirms its own impressions by a tendency to observe what is expected. Without denying to Irishmen in general a genial humor, the fact can be set alongside that much of Irish humor is of Anglo-Saxon invention.

But one needs to feel his way softly here. Because all groups manifest all the traits of human nature it is not necessary to con-

clude that they are all alike in being equally endowed with all traits. The differences are rather those of proportion and degree; they are quantitative rather than qualitative. In consequence, an accurate understanding of them can be expressed only in statistical terminology, a matter further discussed in later pages.

It is aside from our purpose to make an extended excursion into the anthropological history of France. But it seems worth while to note a few salient facts in order to bring out the extraordinary heterogeneity of the French people and the consequent fallaciousness of the view that looks upon their national history as the direct expression of some special racial element. In his summary of all existing data regarding skull forms, Professor Dixon [7] finds the earliest of Palæolithic remains to show a great predominance of low dolichocephalic types but with a slight brachycephalic influence. In succeeding epochs of the Palæolithic culture stages there appear new types of dolichocephals, in all probability entering France from both south and east or northeast. The skulls found at Solutré in the department of Saône-et-Loire, and generally accepted as late Palæolithic, ranged in index from 68.3 to 88.2 or from extreme long-headedness to extreme round-headedness. Moreover, the long-heads comprised only 38.8 per cent of the total number and the round-heads were almost as numerous (33.3 per cent). By earliest Neolithic times, the population contained a variety of types. Of the nearly 700 Neolithic skulls studied by P. Salmon three-fifths were long and the remainder equally divided between round and intermediate. Moreover, they revealed a considerable variation in the proportions of long and broad heads in different parts of the country. Thus, while those from the Paris Basin were long, medium and broad in the ratio of 32, 43 and 25 respectively, Brittany reveals the ratios of 53, 27 and 20, respectively. This evidences a much greater brachycephalization in the Paris Basin than farther west. In addition, the Massive Central, which, along with Brittany was later to become overwhelmingly round-headed showed the following percentages: 64, 29 and 7.[8] One may cite also data from the Champagne district

[7] *The Racial History of Man*, New York, 1923, pp. 46 *et seq.*
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

along the Marne where about a thousand Neolithic graves were found. The proportions of round and intermediate skulls were slightly greater than at Solutré. As Pittard says [9] "The proportion of mesaticephalic individuals (22.7 per cent) shows that intermarriage between the two principal races had been going on for a long time."

From the end of the Neolithic Age in France about 2000 B. C. to the Teutonic migrations of the fifth century is a gap of nearly 2500 years for which no adequate data exist. This is in part due to the Celtic custom of cremation. But what evidence there is indicates repeated infiltrations of brachycephalic Alpine types, or, in any case, a mixed population including a probable majority of this type. Some came by land and some by sea. At first they came with domesticated animals and grain cultivation and with bronze culture about 2000 B. C. and later with iron culture. Then, there was the very considerable movement of round-headed Celtic-speaking peoples beginning in the sixth century B. C. and continuing for two or three hundred years. With these came, no doubt, certain proportions of blond dolichocephals from the Baltic basin, but the main southward movements of these so-called Nordics, who were themselves more or less mixed in racial type began in the second century B. C. There were subsequently various minor invasions, military or peaceful and emigrations which had some effect on the racial complex now found in France. The unique geographical situation of France has made it one of the great melting-pots of races for thousands of years.[10]

Thus the primitive low-skulled dolichocephals were apparently invaded in Palæolithic times by other long-heads from the Mediterranean Basin and by still others of what Dixon calls the Caspian type from the north; then, about 4000 years ago, began the gradual but persistent infusion of Alpine round-heads from central Europe which had largely transformed both the culture and the physical traits of the population, especially of northern and central France, long before the days of Cæsar. That these movements were of

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

[10] Cf. H. J. Fleure, *Human Geography in Western Europe*, Ch. III, London, 1919.

great importance as regards racial types is shown by the fact that Brittany, which showed only a few per cent of round-heads in Neolithic times, became a center of overwhelming brachycephaly; and most astonishing of all is the fact that this was in all probability due in part to the Celtic-speaking Bretons returning across the Channel following the Saxon invasions of England. The Roman conquest seems to have had little effect biologically but it latinized language and culture which had previously been Celtic. Meanwhile had begun the invasions of the tall blonds from the Baltic Basin who have left their deepest impression on the physical traits of the French people in the northwest corner and in the Garonne valley, together with an irregular narrow stretch of territory between. They gave the country a Teuton name and no doubt have figured largely in its military and political history. Professor Pittard [11] concludes his study of the movements of different anthropological types into France during the early historical periods as follows: "Hence the peoples who most actively participated in the invasions can be placed in three main ethnic groups, all three of which already had representatives in France. The Ligurians and Celts belonged to the Neolithic brachycephalic group; the Ibero-Insular people (the Iberians of history) belonged to the small dolichocephalic race called Laugerie-Chancelade; [12] and the Galatae and the greater part of the other Germanic peoples belonged to the race of Neolithic dolichocephals.[13] But it must be remembered that this general view of the matter is by no means a definite certainty. Anthropological study of the French population is not yet sufficiently advanced—although more so, perhaps, than in the case of other European populations—to warrant us in doing more than put it forward as an opinion."

Thus the French people to-day present a remarkable anthropological heterogeneity, whether one view the head-form, eyes, hair,

[11] *Race and History,* New York, 1925, p. 130.

[12] These were of Mediterranean stock, the indigenous palaeolithic stock of nearly the whole of Europe; see Ripley, *op. cit.,* 461 *et seq.*

[13] This assumes that the Neolithic long-heads were also blond; this is possible, but there is no way to prove it, while Dixon, *op. cit.,* p. 58, like Ripley, pp. 464 *et seq.,* thinks them of Mediterranean type, therefore, dark.

skin, or stature. It has sections where the average cephalic index is less than 78, due in part to the various prehistoric types but in the north also to the Nordics and in the south to the Mediterraneans; it has immense areas of predominantly Alpine types in the east and south center where the average exceeds 85. As Pittard says,[14] "France presents itself to ethnologists as a synthesis of Europe—it would appear to include more ethnic types than Italy." This heterogeneity is not new but goes back to prehistoric ages. At the same time the elements that enter the composite have been in a constant flux from the time of the earliest Palæolithic remains. Who can solve the riddle of the respective contributions of these elements to the political, economic, literary, and religious history of France? For example, we do not know for certain whether the blood of those remarkable artists of Cro-Magnon stock still flows in French veins or not, though it is very probable. If we seek to compare the contributions of round-heads of the bronze and La Tène iron cultures with the later contributions of "Nordics" we have no standards of relative values. In general the round-heads were mainly responsible for advances in culture, as the introduction of domestication of animals, cultivation of grain and metallic industries corresponds with invasions of peoples who were predominantly round-headed. We do not know, of course, to what extent the cultural elements brought in by different invasions were the peculiar product of their introducers. Nor do we know to what extent the cultures spread by being carried by migrating peoples. And, even if we did, we could not know how nearly "pure" or how much mixed were these invaders themselves. It is as certain as any such matter can be that they were all more or less mixed in type but with differences in proportions of long-heads and round-heads, blonds and brunets, which, when accentuated by differences in language, costume and manner of life, intensified the instinctive attitudes of hostility to that which is strange. Popular tradition and even the observations of historians and commentators would inevitably lump into one category all the variations in physical type which superficial observa-

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

tion and pre-scientific methods of discrimination backed by prevalent emotional complexes seemed to warrant.

Moreover, we may be certain also that the vast majority of the invaders of every breed were of little or no significance in the development of that rich culture which has marked French history. The creative and directive geniuses in all breeds were rare; they doubtless came from several if not all elements, with perhaps varying proportions in different directions. It is worth while here to note that those long-headed aristocrats which Lapouge distinguished from the round-headed peasants were, as Dixon tells us,[15] mainly of Mediterranean type. As these data are always quoted as evidence of the gradual brachycephalization of France, it is pertinent to note that in this region (*langue d'oc*) it was not the tall blond but the short brunet which yielded to the greater fertility of the round-heads. Finally, it seems highly probable that those superior types of humans that constitute the true glory of France, the creators in art, science, literature and every manner of intellectual activity must have been of mixed racial antecedents. In any case, any theory of race purity in their make-up must become a matter of relative rather than absolute purity. Indeed, the theory that France has profited greatly from a pregnant diversity of racial elements, while incapable of exact proof, is rendered highly plausible by this brief sketch of her racial background. In both diversity and excellence of achievement the French people have been unsurpassed in modern times. Whether one view their record in warfare, or in science, literature and the arts (music, painting, sculpture, architecture) the fecundity of the nation in men of genius is not to be doubted. It seems reasonable to suppose that the unusual heterogeneity of the anthropological elements present in France, if they did not actually increase the number of men of genius born there, did serve to diversify the types of talent produced. Such a suggestion, however, cannot readily be reduced to demonstrable truth. Other nations of western Europe were compounded of the same elements as France, but in different proportions. The range of their talented men is also

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

wide. There is no way of making convincing comparisons. And, if there were, we should not know how to allow for the differences in environmental stimulation which are important factors in achievement.

France thus presents a striking illustration of the fallacies of identifying race and culture. The French are popularly often spoken of as Celts by which is meant the brunetish round-heads of medium stature otherwise known as Alpines. They are to be distinguished from the tall round-heads of the Danubian valley frequently designated as the Dinaric race. They are obviously radically different from the German Teutons. This view was cultivated by Broca, Mortillet, Ujfalvi, Zaborowski, Drumont and Topinard among French authorities and is to-day almost universally accepted. Whether the Celts were of this type or not, or whether they were pure or not, there is no doubt that the major element in the French racial complex for many centuries has been this Alpine breed. But, even if we neglect that minority view which would class the so-called Celts as "Nordics," it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that some parts of France are more Teutonic than South Germany; at the same time, other parts are more Mediterranean than North Italy, and still others, more Alpine than parts of Switzerland.[16] Moreover, aside from the Bretons no remnants of Celtic tongues remain, while the dominant language is a derivative from the Latin. But if it be certain that French was not the original tongue of any of the racial elements now inhabiting France, it is equally certain that a variety of historic tongues are spoken by some of them. Flemish, Dutch, German, Catalan Spanish, Italian, Brythonic Celtic and Basque represent persistent modes of speech correlated with differences in racial and cultural antecedents. Moreover, while certain differences between the *langue d'oïl* or *d'oui* and the *langue d'oc* still persist, it is not so generally known that Professor G. Papillaut has found within them no fewer than 33 dialects.[17] These doubtless illustrate the persistence of age-old differences in blood proportions and

[16] See Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe,* New York, 1917.

[17] "Le principe des nationalités," *Revue anthropologique,* November, 1917.

culture, beneath that surface of general similarity which goes by the term nationality. After centuries of political and economic pressures within a fairly well-defined geographical unity the heterogeneous racial and cultural elements which form the historical basis of political France are still far from homogeneity in any respect other than a greater or less attachment to their common country.

Thus the so-called "Gallic" race, which to-day is predominantly Alpine in physical type, has derived its national name from a Teutonic tribe and its language by refracted imitation from the Latin world. One might add that it has forgotten its own gods and now believes itself a chosen people of the Christian God, while at the same time it gradually transformed its historic *Volksrecht* or Salic tribal law into a body of codified law in which Roman elements predominate. When Dominian exclaims that there is no such thing as a Latin, Celtic, German, Slavic or Aryan race he tells less than half the story.[18] The modern nations are not merely a conglomerate of many racial elements, but they have absorbed their language, their law and their religion from the general culture of the western world with its thousand roots in the cultures of classical antiquity and prehistoric ages.

We take no sides in the Celtic issue. We aim only to point out that the dogmatic mind alone can rest easy with any solution. It seems probable that there is some truth in the view championed by Mortillet, Topinard and Drumont in France, Sergi in Italy, Canon Taylor in England and Dixon in this country, that the Celts, as a race, were of the Alpine type, with a cephalic index over 80, of broad face, medium stature, muscular to stocky build, and dark brown to black hair- and eye-color, though eyes are often gray to hazel; that they have been pushing outward from the Danubian highlands since prehistoric times. We must be even more cautious regarding the claims that at one time they constituted the racial aristocracy clear across the southern part of Europe from the Caspian Sea into France and Spain; and that they are the proto-Aryans of the west, the original introducers of Aryan culture into Europe. That the bearers of the bronze culture into western

[18] See also Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–8.

Europe about 2000 B. C. came from farther east is clear, for this culture appeared in Crete, roughly speaking, about 3000 B. C., in Sicily about 2500 B. C., and in Britain and Scandinavia about 1800 B. C. But the origins of this culture are unknown. That its bearers were some of them similar in physique to the Round Barrow people of Britain, medium or slightly above medium stature with round heads; and that some of them spoke Celtic, also is clear. But we cannot be sure that these were the sole bearers of the bronze culture.

Similar remarks apply to the introduction of the Hallstatt and La Tène iron cultures into western Europe. Professor Dixon, who must be regarded as a very thorough and cautious scholar, whether we adopt his craniological classification of races or not, says:[19] "The problem of the connection between the origin and spread of the bronze culture in France and the influx of new racial elements is difficult and still very obscure." He is inclined to connect the bronze invasion at least in part with the westward drift of Alpine peoples, but is at pains to show that there are some reasons for supposing it may have come, at least in part, with immigrants from Spain, spreading northward along the coast. As to the early iron culture of about 1000 B. C., he remarks similarly: "Of the physical characters of these bringers of iron we know little; it seems probable, however, that they were far from uniform."[20] The graves of this period in Franche-Comté and Burgundy reveal a short brachycephalic type, while those a little farther north reveal a tall dolichocephalic type. Finally, while he connects the spread of the La Tène culture of about 500 B. C. with "the great expansion of the Gauls and other Celtic tribes," the predominantly Alpine stock which in the centuries immediately following overran all central and southern Europe, he adds: "This wave of Celtic peoples undoubtedly included some of the 'Nordic' blonds, who already were pushing south and west from their breeding-grounds along the Baltic."[21]

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 54; for a very recent and different theory see Harold Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, London, 1922.

The outstanding generalization, therefore, is that generalization is fraught with danger. If we say that there is no Celtic race and agree with Ripley to call the supposed "Celts," Alpines, and to reserve the term Celtic for a group of languages, then we are forced to the curious conclusion that France is not a Celtic nation; for only her Armoricans speak such a tongue. She would scorn to be called a Teutonic nation; and to call her a Latin one would describe large portions of her language and law only and would be quite erroneous in application to her racial composition. If we are, therefore, forced to admit that she is to-day inhabited by a people and not by a race, we shall have difficulty in avoiding also the admission that this has been true for more than 2000 years, indeed, with variations in proportions for four thousand years or more. Throughout this long period there has been a constant flux of ethnic elements, not so much in primary ingredients as in their relative proportions; and there has at all times been a similar variation in different parts of the country. How extraordinarily simple then are all those explanations of French temperament, of French art, literature, political organization and military prowess as due to this or that pure racial heritage.

One must accept such a conclusion regardless of his belief concerning the importance of biological inheritance as a factor in social evolution. That factor is always present; were man by nature other than he is the whole course of his history would have been different. Nor does the conclusion that Celtism is in essence simplistic require that one abandon his belief in the inequality of races. The endowments of different human breeds could only by a vigorous stretch of imagination be exactly the same throughout the whole range of individual variation within each. Men of genius are essential elements in cultural advance, and geniuses in some lines may appear more frequently in some racial stocks than in others. But to single out from a vast mélange of ethnic elements entering into a national complex a single favorite type, idealize it and explain the glories of the nation by its special genius is merely to repeat the errors of Aryanism, Teutonism and Anglo-Saxonism. The method is wrong and leads to hopeless confusion; for, whereas the Chamberlains and the Woltmanns find the Teu-

tonic element the fructifying genius in France, the enthusiastic Celtist worships at a different shrine, and with equal validity. Neither allows adequately for the force of cultural accumulation, political and environmental stimulation, geographical factors in national success, and the significance of racial heterogeneity. May we add that it would be of great value to have a study of men of genius according to their anthropological traits, not in terms of such deceptive names as Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, Teuton or Celt, but according to the detailed description of modern anthropometry. It is almost certain that the vast majority of the men of genius on whom every epoch and country must rely for its cultural advances and its military and economic achievements would be found to combine anthropological traits of more than one fundamental race.

CHAPTER VII

ANGLO-SAXONISM AND NORDICISM IN AMERICA

It has long been the custom for American writers, historians and publicists to speak of the American people as Anglo-Saxon. The term was not accurately defined as a rule but the general implication has always been that an Anglo-Saxon was tall, light complexioned with fair skin, blue or gray eyes and blond to light-brown hair. Americans of old stock generally accepted this view partly because people are accustomed to accept without question whatever becomes common tradition and partly because it was always associated with flattering implications. For it was always made sufficiently plain that the Anglo-Saxons were the born rulers of men and the world's premier pioneers and adventurers, and divinely commissioned to spread the light of liberty and democratic justice to all parts of the globe. One cannot blame people for accepting such a view under the circumstances even though a moment's careful observation would have shown them that few of their neighbors, even though descendants from the Mayflower, were anything like replicas of the type as described. But one may suppose that even such observation would scarcely have altered the tradition, for most of them, in spite of their own obvious mongrelization, could have found among their relatives, near and remote, some approximation to the standard Anglo-Saxon type.

Just when the notion arose that the American colonists were pure Anglo-Saxons, who in turn were the purest of the pure, the very aristocracy of blondness, is not certain. It was perceived by Gobineau that the future hope of the world from the almost stygian darkness of round-head ineptitude lay in the Anglo-Saxons of England and America. And this view has come down to us

straight through Lapouge to Madison Grant. But one suspects that patriotic historians and men of letters in England and America played the same rôle here that we saw them playing in Germany. The task was, in fact, relatively easy for English historians when they once hit upon the idea of making England a distinctly Anglo-Saxon country. Tacitus had given a highly idealized and imaginative description of the Germans with special emphasis on their personal independence and love of liberty. It was only necessary to draw heavily on Tacitus and ignore all but blond racial elements in the islands. Moreover, a sort of running start was given to this view of the nation by the fact that it had been made plain in the Anglo-Saxon sagas that the Teutonic invaders had killed all the previous inhabitants of England in a glorious and universal slaughter. Kemble's *The Saxons in England* (1849), while denying this bit of folk-lore the stamp of scholarly authority, yet leaned heavily on Tacitus and greatly strengthened the tradition of the complete Teutonic origin of British political institutions. Bishop Stubbs, largely influenced by German scholars, had in his masterly studies of the English Constitution found them but the matured development of principles cherished by the early Teutons. England became Germanic not only in race and language but in political genius as well. The English political system which had aroused the warm admiration of Montesquieu and the patriotic devotion of Burke thus became the embodiment of an almost super-human wisdom. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest* (1867–79) put into indubitable form the notion that the Anglo-Saxons had from earliest tribal days shown an unsurpassed genius for the organization of political institutions and the preservation of individual liberty, that they had utterly annihilated every important element of Roman and Briton institutions and transformed England into an advanced outpost of those Teutons who belonged to the true Aryans of history. If John Richard Green (1874, 1882 and 1883) pictured the English nation moving as a complete society from German to British soil and continuing there all its institutions in undiluted purity, one can readily understand how the poet-novelist historian, Charles Kingsley, in *The Roman and the Teuton* (1864), could have experienced an en-

raptured vision of the immaculate character and the invincible strength of the Teutons, "the hosts of God." The deeply stirring writings of Macaulay and Froude did not lessen the hold of these doctrines on popular sentiments, while Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883) and *Growth of English Policy* (1895) and the martial panegyrics of Homer Lea's *The Day of the Saxon* (1912), Rudyard Kipling's expansive imperialism and Professor J. A. Cramb's [1] elucidation of the supernal mandates and mystical destiny of Great Britain all accentuated the belief in the transcendental doctrine of a special Anglo-Saxon mission in the world. These are only a few of the outstanding works which cultivated the doctrine of the overwhelming predominance of Anglo-Saxon blood in the British people, of Anglo-Saxon traits in English character, and of pristine Anglo-Saxon principles in English life and institutions.

Such a view obviously is not wholly lacking in basis. But it is over-simple for more than one reason. It gives to English character and institutions a racial interpretation to the neglect of environmental and historical factors. It overlooks the changes in the manifestations of English character at different periods due to alternations in the politico-economic milieu. But even if we admit that national character and institutions are determined by an underlying hereditary basis of a specific sort, one would not be warranted in overlooking the fact that the Teutonic invaders constituted only one element in the racial complex comprised in the British Isles. In addition to the fact that they were only one of several contingents, we shall find evidence that they were themselves far from purely homogeneous.

The social psychology of England, or rather of English imperialists, is strictly comparable to the inflated race and national pride we noted in the case of Germany. The metaphysical view of the state as a super-human entity endowed with attributes and purposes which lift it above the plane of ordinary understanding, a view which we saw was cultivated in Germany by Fichte and Hegel, also permeated English thought. It received perfect expression in the militant utterances of Professor J. A. Cramb and

[1] *The Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain,* lectures delivered in 1900 and published at London in 1915: *Germany and England,* London, 1914.

the worshipful and unrestrained adulation of the Saxon race, Saxon power and Saxon destiny by Homer Lea. These writers are unsurpassed in modern times for their advocacy of the use of force in the achievement of the "righteous" purposes of imperial destiny. In the writings and speeches of many influential leaders England became the modern Israel called of God to extend the blessings of her culture, especially her domination, to the rest of the world. There was a widespread view that the English people, or rather the Anglo-Saxon part of them, were in fact the Lost Ten Tribes, the real Chosen People, foreordained by an ever-watchful and guardian Providence to civilize the rest of mankind. England thus became endowed with a "manifest destiny" in the minds of such statesmen as Lord Cromer, a mystical doctrine which always appeals with irresistible charm to the "pooled self-esteem" of powerful nations in all times and places. Certainly nothing could more completely justify the imperial aims of a great people and the use of force in their achievement than the confident belief that God had endowed their race with a special faculty for the rulership of other peoples.[2]

Much of this English doctrine and tradition was readily transferred to America in spite of an historical animosity. The worthy Puritan founders of New England, sprung from the common people, were certainly not likely to have considered themselves to be of like blood with those aristocratic Cavaliers with whom they fought. Francis Galton [3] contrasts the relative lightness of modern British sailors "with Cromwell's regiment of Ironsides, who were recruited from the dark-haired men of the fen districts, and who are said to have left the impression on contemporary observers as being men of a peculiar breed." This last "impression" is no doubt partly accounted for by differences in demeanor and dress, but one can scarcely doubt that the Puritans were in no danger of confusing themselves with a pure-bred, tall, blond race. Our New

[2] For very interesting studies of British imperial psychology see J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism. A Study,* New York, 1902; J. Bardoux, *Essai d'une psychologie de l'Angleterre contemporaine,* Paris, 1906; and J. G. Godard, *Racial Supremacy, Being Studies in Imperialism,* London, 1905.

[3] *Inquiries Into Human Faculty,* London 1883, p. 5.

England ancestors must have been drawn from a wide range of English society and thus have represented a wide range of anthropological traits. The colonists, when profitable occasions arose, and especially during the Revolutionary period, spoke proudly of their English ancestry and of their traditional English rights. Theirs also was the heritage of Anglo-Saxon liberty and the right and capacity of self-government. It is impossible here to trace the literary and historical cultivation of Anglo-Saxon worship in the United States, but we may note that American historians of the latter part of the last century, largely under the leadership of Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University and others who had studied in Germany, were deeply imbued with the Tacitean tradition and the Teutonic source of American political institutions.[4] John Fiske was, however, more important in the propagation of the Anglo-Saxon tradition than any other American historian. He accepted fully the doctrine of Teutonic Aryanism and the racial superiority of the English race, and prophesied its final complete dominion over the globe.[5] From such fountain heads these ideas permeated the entire current of popular tradition.

It has been repeatedly noted in these pages that doctrines of race purity and superiority are closely related to the sentiments of solidarity on which thrive the gregarious tendencies of human nature. A group consciousness of strength, of superiority, sharpens the will to live and to conquer and elevates popular faith in group destiny. Doctrines of special racial aptitudes are thus closely related to the faith that animates the common life and are almost certain to find strong links binding them to the generally accepted religion. We saw this clearly in the case of Germany before and during the war. We see it also in the Ku Klux Klan movement of post-war America. This is in essence Protestant Anglo-Saxon America reassuring itself of its inherent superiority,

[4] See H. E. Barnes, article "History," *The Encyclopædia Americana,* especially pp. 238 and 248.

[5] "Our Aryan Forefathers" in his *Excursions of an Evolutionist,* Boston, 1885, pp. 78 *et seq.; American Political Ideas,* Boston, 1911. For these references to English and American historians the author has relied largely on a paper, "The Anglo-Saxon Myth", by Thomas P. Peardon written at Clark University in 1922.

and militantly serving notice on all and sundry that this is their country and they intend to rule it. Another interesting illustration is found in a newspaper item of July 2, 1925, announcing the call by Reverend George McGuinnis (God save the name) of a convention of all Anglo-Saxons who believe themselves descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. This convention met at Waunita Springs, Colorado, August 15–18. It was announced that there was a similar federation in England with 2,000,000 members with Lord Gisborough as president and Princess Alice, a cousin of the King, as chief patron. The *Announcement* also stated: "The Anglo-Saxon federation will have for its object the federation of orthodox Christians of all denominations who believe the Bible to be the inspired word of God, to promulgate the belief that Anglo-Saxons are the descendants of The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel; to prove that this race was chosen of God to rule land and sea; to restore the sanctity of the Christian faith, the observance of the Sabbath and reverence for the word of God, and to demonstrate to Anglo-Saxon people the privileges and responsibilities attached to them by reason of their descent from Israel."

Sensible folk will smile at such childish nonsense, but it is such ideas which have an astonishing power of suggestion in them for great numbers of people. It is just such ideas that fire the popular imagination, force statesmen in a democracy to be three-fourths demagogue, make crowds the play things of adventurers, intelligent democracy the vain hope of social reformers, and wars the almost inevitable arbiter of national conflicts.

The political scientists vied with the historians and the Fourth of July orators in cultivating the tradition of Anglo-Saxon social origins, political genius and racial supremacy. As in England there was much unfavorable comment on the governmental capacities of the Irish and the French alongside a gross idealization of Anglo-Saxon American combination of liberty, justice and authority. In the works of Francis Lieber, for example, we find much praise of the "Anglican" race, that is, the Anglo-Saxon race which ruled England and America. He said: "We belong to the Anglican race which carried Anglican principles and liberty over the globe, because, wherever it moves, liberal institutions and

common law full of manly rights and instinct with the principle of an expansive life, accompany it. We belong to that race whose obvious task it is, among other proud and sacred tasks, to rear and spread civil liberty over vast regions in every part of the earth, on continent and isle. We belong to that tribe alone which has the word Self-Government." [6]

With this very cursory survey of the nature and sources of American Anglo-Saxon tradition we pass on to a more thorough examination of a few of the recent expounders of Anglo-Saxonism and Nordicism in America. It has not seemed necessary to attempt a complete survey of such literature. No object would be served thereby which is not better served by a critical study of fundamental arguments advanced by leading advocates. Popular thought may be expected to move in the realm of myth and illusion. Do scholars manifest a higher sense of objectivity and scientific caution?

Probably the greatest American work in political doctrine in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was Burgess's *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*,[7] whose author along with many other great scholars of his day, had imbibed both learning and inspiration from the leading thinkers of Germany. In the opening pages of volume one he discusses the problems of nation, race and political psychology. Defining a nation as "A people of an ethnic unity inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity," he adds, "The nation as thus defined is the nation in perfect and complete existence, and this is hardly yet anywhere to be found." [8] He then proceeds to a statistical and physiographic study of various nations in order to bring out their degree of approximation to the ideal. In this he commits the same fallacy that had vitiated the reasoning of the Aryanists in the preceding decades,—he identifies "ethnic unity" with language and other cultural elements. Thus he finds that Germany is not a completed nation because there are "Germans" outside her existing boundaries and Slavs, Walloons, French and

[6] *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 21.
[7] Boston, 2 vols., 1890.
[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

Lithuanians within. Of the 50,000,000 inhabitants, however, 88 per cent are "Germans." Now, even when Professor Burgess wrote, this was an error of considerable proportions in view of the complete abandonment by many scholars of the assumed identity of race and culture. Moreover, though the identification of the three fundamental European races as presented by Ripley on the basis of European anthropological studies had not been completed when Burgess wrote, there was abundant evidence, accumulated from 1840 when Anders Retzius introduced the concept of the cephalic index, that the population of every European nation was astonishingly diverse. In fact, the types, as later described by Ripley, had as early as 1890 been quite clearly defined.

Burgess then did not escape the pitfalls of current political philosophizing. In fact, so imbued was he with transcendental concepts that he combined an idealized nation, which was nowhere to be found "as yet," with an idealized race, which nowhere existed in uncorrupted purity, and thus explained political institutions as due to a special racial genius.

At the outset he finds the question of national political character very puzzling because "Some nations manifest apparently contradictory traits at different periods of their development." In order to avoid this difficulty, he falls back on Waitz's principle (*Anthropologie der Natürvölker*) of considering only those traits peculiar to a nation "as perdure through all the periods of a nation's life." A sound principle beyond question, but extremely difficult to apply in such a problem, for what is due to race and what to physiography, and what to culture? And whose opinion shall we take of what traits perdure and what do not? He then classifies the great races as "the Greek, the Latin, the Celt, the Teuton and the Slav," [9] and thereupon proceeds to demonstrate certain generalizations previously laid down. He had said [10] that "The highest talent for political organization has been exhibited by the Aryan nations, and by these unequally," a curious admission for one who would identify political genius and race, unless one admit that the varieties within the Aryan race may be very dif-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

ferently endowed with political capacity. In any case, Burgess agrees with Bluntschli that the Asiatic Aryans have shown little such capacity; and he finds that "The Celt, for instance, has shown almost none, the Greek but little, while the Teuton really dominates the world by his superior political genius." And he finds the true apology for imperialism and race domination in the dictum that "The political subjection or attachment of the unpolitical nations to those possessing political endowment appears, if we may judge from history, to be as truly a part of the course of the world's civilization as is the national organization of states." The fact that such a statement is dear to the heart of the imperialist of whatever nation does not make it untrue to the facts, but it is at least a dangerous doctrine with which to feed the natural assumptions of race superiority inevitably made by every successful people.

So he finds [11] that the Celt is more unpolitical even than the Greek or Slav, in spite of their further removal from the unpolitical ideals, customs and traditions of Asia. They never progressed politically "higher than personal clanship," for, "personal attachment in small bodies to a chosen chief is the peculiar political trait of the Celtic nations"; nor "can they create political institutions of a superior order." "Government has always been to them a personal affair"; and "violence and corruption have always marked the politics of Celtic nations."

On the other hand the Teutonic are "the political nations *par excellence.*" This is supported by the authority of François Laurent, *Études sur l'histoire de l'humanité, Tome X,* one of the numerous French Teutonists now otherwise lost in the jangle of blatent nationalists. Of this author Robert Flint in his *History of the Philosophy of History* says: "M. Laurent conceives the philosophy of history as a theodicy." "He argues that there can be no philosophy of history unless it be admitted that God is present in the minds and hearts of men, controls and guides the entire series of events." "He represents the science of history as a department of natural theology." We shall see that this philosophy was acceptable to Burgess, who continues: "Almost every state of modern Europe owes its organization to the Teutons.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 33 *et seq.*

The Visigoths in Spain, the Suevi in Portugal, the Lombards in Italy, the Franks in France and Belgium, the Anglo-Saxons and Normans in England, the Scandinavian Teutons in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the Germans in Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Austria have been the dominant elements in the creation of the modern national states; and to-day Teutonic houses are organizing Greece, Rumania, and the principalities along the Danube, and even Russia. The United States also must be regarded as a Teutonic national state." "Only the Teutonic nations have produced national states"; and because this form of political organization solves the great problems of government, such as the reconciliation of liberty with authority, and the relation of local to central power, the Teutonic nations are authorized "in the economy of the world, to assume the leadership in the establishment and administration of states."

Now, all this proves too much. When these words were written it was not possible to suppose that the Japanese, being Asiatics, and yellow, being non-Aryan and far removed from Teutonic strongholds, would ever manifest any notable political capacity. But one need not go so far afield. So long as the Celts were thought of as a distinct species and Ireland was under complete English domination it was fairly obvious that the "Anglo-Saxon" English were manifesting their inalienable right and capacity to rule, while the poor Irish were inevitably a subject people, manifesting clannishness and subordination to personal chieftains, because of lack of political capacity. But since then we have learned that there is no such thing as a Celtic race but that Celtic-speaking peoples were of quite varied anthropological type, even including some of those Teutons who are specially endowed with political capacity. Moreover, in view of the fact that Burgess in speaking of the Celtic had in mind mainly the Irish, it is worth while to note that no less an authority than Sir Arthur Keith tells us that, "Of all the inhabitants of the British Isles the Irish may be regarded as the purest representatives of the North Sea or Nordic stock." [12] Such a statement may well apply to the tall blond but

[12] *Race and Nationality from an Anthropologist's Point of View.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1919, p. 36.

not to the short dark Irish, and to that extent it turns out that the so-called Celts with no political capacity are indistinguishable in any physical trait from their Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic brothers who are so superlatively endowed that they are authorized to impose themselves on the politically less-gifted peoples. Meanwhile, the Irish have gone on serenely organizing the political life of great urban populations in the United States, a nation peopled by those Anglo-Saxons who are pictured by the Nordicists as the veritable cream of the Teutonic stock. Or does this latter fact prove that Burgess was in general correct, only he mistook the ethnic background of the Irish?

But with the basis he had laid, Burgess inevitably drew conclusions very similar to those of Gobineau before him and Chamberlain afterwards. In the fourth chapter on "Conclusions of Practical Politics" he speaks in the language of the school of *Realpolitik,* the language of Treitschke and the Pan-Germanists, of Seeley, Cramb and the British Imperialists, of Roosevelt and the American Expansionists. Throughout there is an appeal to a higher morality and a politico-philosophical mysticism that sounds strangely like Fichte and Hegel. Is this attributable to his study in Germany in earlier years? Thus: "When a state insists upon the union with it of all states occupying the same geographic unity and attains this result in last resort by force, the morality of its action cannot be doubted in sound practical politics; especially if the ethnical composition of the populations of the different states is the same or nearly the same." In other words it is here posited that a political state must be composed of homogeneous or nearly homogeneous racial elements and should annex by force all neighbors of like racial composition. One may wonder whether this was another way of expressing Burgess's belief that Germany was authorized by Divine Providence to annex not only Alsace-Lorraine but also Holland and Denmark.

Or turning the proposition about, so as to view it from the angle of internal policy, one would note that Allied fervor for the rights of small nationalities was little consonant with the following: in case a state is composed of several nationalities the use of force to secure unity of language and institutions "is not only

justifiable, but commendable; and not only commendable but morally obligatory." [13] Here are doctrines which combine a touching faith in the Fichtean trilogy, the essential unity of race, nation and language and the political metaphysics of Hegel with the Realpolitik of Bismarck. It was a faith which found its basis in a confident acceptance of the doctrine of a Teutonic-Anglo-Saxon mission to organize the world. One wonders, however, whether Burgess here had in mind Germany's Polish policy, the late lamented Austro-Hungarian Empire, or the question of the German language in Wisconsin; [14] or was he speaking deductively and hence dogmatically? Such a state "may righteously deport the ethnically hostile element." [15] Here he forestalled condemnation of recent Greco-Turkish expulsions. Likewise immigration must be restrained if it threaten national unity, a view which found expression in recent Americanization fervor and immigration policy. Certainly these principles have been those upon which states have generally acted and they must sometimes but not always be commended on grounds of practical politics; but Burgess finds a "higher" basis for them than mere expediency. He says: "Certainly the Providence which created the human race and presides over its development knows best what are the true claims of humanity; and if the history of the world is to be taken as the manifestation of Providence in regard to this matter, we are forced to conclude that national states are intended by it as the prime organs of human development; and, therefore, that it is the highest duty of the state to preserve, strengthen, and develop its own national character." [16] And it must be understood that the state is the "highest entity" existing and "the highest interpreter" of its duty to the world,[17] so that each state logically must exert itself to the utmost to carry out every policy which it, in its

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 41–2.

[14] For similar recent episodes involving the French language in Quebec or Rhode Island see article by Robert Dexter, *The Nation,* August, 1923.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

capacity as supreme judge, feels to be essential to its special mission and destiny.

All this, of course, posited Teutonic state domination and seemed to be utterly oblivious of the existence of several "Teutonic" states whose high purposes as interpreted by themselves might come into direct conflict. Moreover, if it should turn out that a non-Teutonic country, as Brazil, restrained the immigration of Teutons, would it then be manifesting the will of Providence? It might preserve its unity though at the expense of perfecting its political organization by reducing its supply of political talent. Or suppose a nation feels it necessary in the interests of its own security to destroy the life if its neighbor, as France today feels regarding Germany, would that be a manifestation of the will of Providence? Before one answers in the affirmative he must remember that the national German state is presumably more richly populated with politically endowed Teutons than is France—though he may at the same time wonder why it was, then, that Germany achieved her political unity at so recent a date.

Burgess draws still other conclusions. So important is "the mission of conducting the political organization of the world," with which Teutons have been commissioned, that they should not entrust the balance of power in national or local affairs to any other nationality; in fact, they should, in some cases, exclude other elements from participation in political power; though this should be done "with justice and moderation—it is these very qualities of the Teutonic character which make it *par excellence* political." "The Teutonic nations can never regard the exercise of political power as a right of man"; such right must be based on political capacity of which the Teutons themselves are the only qualified judges. Moreover, the Teutonic nations, as a world duty, "*must* have a colonial policy." And in dealing with native peoples who resist the providential dominion of Teutonic nations, the latter "may righteously . . . clear the territory of their presence and make it the abode of civilized man." Tribal peoples have no rights which the Teutonic states are bound to respect; "weak sentimentality" should be brushed aside in such matters; it is not

even necessary to go through the formality of a purchase contract. As "there is no human right to the status of Barbarism," the Teutonic nations must seriously and conscientiously push forward the political organization of those vast areas peopled by races lacking in capacity for such achievement, and, in this noble work the United States, which is afflicted with the sickly notion that such policies are "unwarrantable interference in the affairs of other states," must accept its proper share. It should be clearly understood that the politically competent Teutonic nations "may righteously assume sovereignty over a politically incompetent population." Their neglect to do so is "not only mistaken policy, but disregard of duty." "In the study of general political science we must be able to find a standpoint from which the harmony of duty and policy may appear. History and ethnology offer us this elevated ground, and they teach us that the Teutonic nations are the political nations of the modern era; that, in the economy of history, the duty has fallen to them of organizing the world politically; and that if true to their mission, they must follow the line of this duty as one of their practical policies." [18]

All this is merely a moralized statement of the doctrine that might makes right, a rationalization of the will to power. It was not a matter of accident that Theodore Roosevelt, imbibing his political theory in Burgess's class room, afterwards seized the Panama strip and justified this on the ground that it was unrighteous for backward nations to block the expansion of civilization. The criticism is not the assertion by Burgess that might makes right, for it is obvious that might in some form—opinion, law, arms,—makes all the right there is actually operative at any moment, but rather the excursion into moralizing and mystifying sentiment involved in the repetition of the word "righteous." It is one thing to find the pattern of action of nationalities throughout history to follow a definite form; it is quite another thing to pronounce the pattern morally good, or, in the long run, expedient in the highest sense. The relations of the races have heretofore certainly been governed by such principles as Burgess

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 44–8.

enunciates. From the standpoint of a natural history point of view, force, often in the form of a *force majeure,* has determined the relationship of races and nations. But an improved world order can come only through the assertion that the principles of a crude militant imperialism are not inevitable. If one go so far as to imbue them with moral grandeur and providential sanction he joins hands with that unholy mob of moral and religious fanatics who in every age have carried on persecution in the name of truth and justice. To advocate the wilful destruction of backward races is to join the spiritual fellowship of the militant crusaders, the Inquisitors, and the Ku Kluxers of whatever time or place. We shall not be able to escape from a world in which force rules, but we may at least hope for a world in which force is organized. This requires toleration and the establishment of a certain equality of right among peoples that are unequal in strength. In any case, the doctrine that the Teutons were called to organize the world—and that by force—has been temporarily disposed of, at least so far as the presumably most Teutonic nation of all is concerned. Germany has been reduced to a state of political impotence bordering on revolution and anarchy while Austria was resuscitated from a moribund condition only by the interposition of international finance. In fact, the whole of western Europe where the presence of a dominating Teutonic element a decade ago gave assurance of political stability and political sagacity is now in such a sorry political tangle that the whole world feels insecure. Providence must have slept! Burgess might argue that this is due to the fact that the French, who are largely compounded of Celtic round-heads, are temporarily in power and do not know how to combine authority, toleration and liberty; but he could not argue convincingly that any nation clearly exhibited these virtues during the trying, peace-making days.

Moreover, the progress of the League of Nations largely under the enthusiastic support of Latin-American brunet hybrids, central European round-heads of servile lineage and Orientals until recently wholly lacking in political capacity, opens a new method and a new era in the political organization of the world. But in this effort to replace the settlement of international problems by

the orderly processes of organized investigation and the consensus of opinion, the United States, the great Anglo-Saxon giant of the west, the Nordic savior of the world from the stupidity of earth-minded round-heads, sulks moodily in splendid isolation! It certainly looks as though the divinely ordained mission of the Teutonic-Anglo-Saxon combine had suffered at least a temporary eclipse.

We have given this long exposition of Burgess because of the unsurpassed influence of his teachings and because his views have received reiteration from a thousand platforms and through hundreds of publications. To the American mind they appealed powerfully because there was about them not only flattery to racial pride but an unctuous religiosity and a specious profundity which satisfied the desire for eternal verity. But it must now be obvious that these views are a preposterous caricature of the truth. It is not true so far as race is concerned that Germany is a Teutonic nation or England an Anglo-Saxon one. America is not now and never has been Anglo-Saxon in race, if one use his terms in an anthropological rather than a poetical or romantic sense. Moreover, Burgess's interpretations were over-simplistic to a degree that seems surprising in one of his undoubted erudition. One may well doubt whether the political history of Germany, so late in culminating in that national unity in which Burgess saw the completed expression of political genius, may be judged superior to that of France, though the latter has contained for at least two thousand years more Alpine round-heads than Teutonic long ones.[19] One may be quite certain that to-day the rôle of race, geographical situation, economic organization, diplomatic intrigue, internal class stratification, legal tradition and all other elements of the cultural inheritance and existing milieu in the evolution of political institutions is less clear to professional students than they appeared to Burgess a generation ago. One need only add that his relapse into the transcendental mysticism then so prevalent in Germany removed much of his worshipful adulation of the Teuton from the field of science to the realm of apologetics.

[19] See James T. Shotwell, "The Political Capacity of the French," *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1909, pp. 115 *et seq.*

But as if Burgess were not bad enough we pass at once to an American writer who not only repeated the panegyrics of Gobineau, Chamberlain and Vacher de Lapouge on the blond Aryan but also the Jeremiads of certain French and German demographers in prophesying the eclipse of western civilization through the gradual inundation of the "blond giants" who adventure and make war by the "little brunet" who stays at home "to perpetuate his own brunet type." Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History,*[20] was written in the tone of its predecessors, repeats many of their errors, descends to the same level of dogmatism and rises to the same heights of idyllic mysticism, adds no new principles of interpretation, reiterates most of their claims and leaves the fundamental issues as beclouded as before. It is interesting in this connection to note that Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn who writes the "Preface" there tells us that this book is the first attempt to write European history in terms of race, apparently in entire oblivion of the fact that the book is from cover to cover a mere rehash of doctrines that had been long since exploded on the European continent.

The book may be described as a grand mélange, an incongruous pasticcio, of historical, anthropological and archæological facts mixed with numerous bits of dogmatizing, insecure hypotheses, and large drafts on credulity and fancy. It would be utterly impossible for the general reader to distinguish in it what is well-authenticated fact, from what is merely plausible and what is little more than imagination. His biological assumptions are often highly questionable, and numerous generalizations are little supported by facts presented. His point of view is not that of the eugenist; it is not that of the student of human biology; it is rather that of the racial dogmatist in a crudely bald and dangerous form. The book is seriously marred by the tone of certainty and finality which inevitably accompanies the over-simplification of extremely complex matters in an effort to find a solution which harmonizes with one's predilections. If it were only possible to recognize such books as mere propaganda and have their true character clearly understood by the general public they would be taken less seriously

[20] New York, 1916.

and fail to attain that dignity of authority which ought to be reserved for a limited range of strictly scientific works of relatively definitive character. For Grant to confess what is the obvious truth, that any final solution of the problems of the racial history of Europe is as yet impossible, but that so far as authentic data exist they warrant the view that all simplistic solutions are delusions, would be to take all the joy out of his life.

The three fundamental European races, the blond long-headed Nordics, the brunet round-headed Alpines, and the very dark, dolichocephalous Mediterraneans are characterized in terms with which we are familiar. The Alpines are "always and everywhere a race of peasants"; the Nordics "are all over the world, a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers and explorers; but above all, of rulers, organizers and aristocrats." But the Mediterranean, while inferior in bodily stamina to both the Nordic and the Alpine, is probably the superior of both, certainly of the Alpines, in intellectual attainments." This last is a great concession, especially when followed by this sentence: "In the field of art its superiority to both the other European races is unquestioned." [21] But the author deals more fairly than some of his predecessors with the inferior races. Thus: "The early Alpines made a very large contribution to the civilization of the world," both in Europe and Asia.[22] The Mediterraneans "gave the world the great civilizations of Egypt, of Crete, of Phœnicia including Carthage, of Etruria and of Mycenean Greece." And "when mixed and invigorated with Nordic elements," it gave us also the civilizations of ancient Hellas and Rome. It must not be overlooked, however, that the traditions and institutions of Rome were of Nordic origin.[23] And yet, in spite of such concessions, Gobineau, Lapouge and Woltmann again pass before us in review, with modifications here and there, but with essentials intact. We shall hear Grant speaking glibly and with dogmatic finality of tribes and peoples of whom we have little more than the barest threads of knowledge. He assumes them to have been of a definite physical type and pure in blood;

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 198.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–2.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

but anthropological researches into pre-history show that assumptions as to physical type, especially as to those complexion traits which are the *ne plus ultra* of Nordic mythologizing, are sometimes difficult, sometimes impossible to make with assurance, and sometimes must be contrary to those made by Grant; and as to purity of type, that is as a rule disputable on the grounds of both logic and fact. Here Grant might have taken a leaf from the works of his illustrious godfathers, Gobineau and Lapouge. The names and historical rôles of Achæans, Amorites, Angles, Avars, Belgæ, Brythons, Burgundians, Celto-Scyths, Celtic-speaking Nordics, P Celts, Q Celts, Cimmerians, etc., through the entire alphabet roll from his pen with facile fluidity and impressive colorations, but one can put it down as certain that in all too many cases there is more of the artist than of the scientist in the resulting representations.

Here are a few sample passages. "In the Europe of to-day the amount of Nordic blood in each nation is a very fair measure of its strength in war and standing in civilization." [24] This doctrine derives from Gobineau and was a favorite with Lapouge and Chamberlain. On the preceding page the decline of Spain is explained as due to the dilution of Gothic blood so that "the sceptre fell from this noble race into the hands of the little, dark Iberian, who had not the physical vigor or the intellectual strength" to maintain the empire. Similarly the decline of France is explained: "Step by step, with the reappearance of these primitive and deep-rooted stocks (i. e., the Alpine and the Mediterranean), the Nordic element in France declined, and with it the vigor of the nation." [25] The case of England is not so certain but "the Nordics are apparently receding before the little brunet Mediterranean type . . . through the wastage of war and emigration." [26] Hence "there are those who think they see indications of such decline." [27] In any case, one fancies Grant to say, if England has declined, we know the reason to be the decrease in Nordic elements and the consequent "transfer of political

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 186; see also p. 172.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

power from the vigorous Nordic aristocracy and middle classes to the radical and labor elements, both largely recruited from the Mediterranean type." [28] And if she hasn't declined, why then she should have anyway.

One need only recall the complicated racial history of any of these countries to realize how highly doctrinaire are these assertions. Take, for example, the case of Spain. Grant attributes no weight to such cultural factors as the changes in trade routes following the discovery of America; to such geographical factors as the Pyrenees Mountains which isolated Spain from the new influences affecting France, England, Germany and Holland following the Commercial Revolution; nor to such social selective factors as the Inquisition which Grant himself, following Galton, emphasizes on another page as the cause of "the superstitious and unintelligent Spaniard of to-day." [29] Not only that but Spain is well endowed with Mediterraneans who, according to Grant, were responsible for several ancient civilizations and excel all races in artistic, if not intellectual, capacities. But Grant prefers to explain Spain's fifteenth and sixteenth century glory as due to the presence of the Visigoths and her decline as due to their submergence. Who then were the Visigoths? In 376 A. D. they were a wandering and marauding tribe who were given authority by Rome to establish themselves on the banks of the Danube. Thirty years later they sacked Rome, having meanwhile carried on wars, pillagings and general devastation in the Balkans and the upper part of the Grecian Peninsula. Five years later we find them in Spain where they were vanquished by the Arabs in 711 A. D.[30] So much for what we know. But there are many things we do not know. How large a remnant of Visigothic wanderers entered Spain? How much had their blood been diluted by the inclusion of women of alien stock, as is the custom of such tribes? How many adventurers of various racial types marched under their banners? Is it certain that they were

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.
[29] Ibid., pp. 48–9.
[30] Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

originally Nordic in type? Even if originally pure Nordics, we see them defeated by the Arabs who subsequently developed an advanced culture on Spanish soil. And then we see them, still pure, used by the Nordic propagandist to explain Spanish world leadership eight centuries later. Grant says: "The splendid conquistadores of the New World were of Nordic type, but their pure stock did not long survive. . . . After considering well these facts we shall not have to search further for the causes of the collapse of Spain." [31] Here is indeed a fine lesson in the ever new but yet age-old fraud of "history made easy."

As to America, both Grant and Osborn find her greatest danger in "The gradual dying out among our people of those hereditary traits through which the principles of our religious, political or social foundations were laid down, and their insidious replacement by traits of less noble character." [32] The full force of this is felt when one realizes that the white population of the United States was, down to the Civil War, "purely Nordic" or indeed "not only purely Nordic, but also purely Teutonic, a very large majority being Anglo-Saxon in the most limited meaning of that term." [33] The reader will not fail to note the hierarchy of castes within the Nordic race implied by this sentence. We shall see later that the Anglo-Saxon migrants to England were already of mixed racial type; that there was no ground for supposing that the long-headed blonds ever composed more than a moderate majority in any county of England; and that there is some ground for supposing that the Puritan stock was predominantly brunet. Most important of all, however, is the undoubted fact of blond-brunet mixture in the Old American stock. The American colonists were a selected people but they were not selected along racial lines. Theirs was the intra-racial selection which separates the bolder more determined characters from the weaker elements regardless of head-form or hair-color.

As to Germany, Grant finds that she has already suffered

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 174.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. ix.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 72–4.

obvious ruin. There was a time when "Europe was Germany, and Germany was Europe."[34] Moreover, "chivalry and Knighthood are peculiarly Nordic traits"[35] but "to-day the ghastly rarity in the German armies of chivalry and generosity toward women and of knightly protection and courtesy toward the prisoners or wounded can be largely attributed to this annihilation of the gentle (i. e., upper, Nordic) classes. The Germans of to-day are for the most part descendants of the peasants" (i. e., Alpine brachycephals) who survived the devastating effects of the fratricidal Thirty Years' War.[36] In any case we are glad to know they are not "Huns," but only Alpines and corrupted Nordics!! And yet as one tries to put together different assertions through the book one wonders at this result and how it can be reconciled with the perfectly astonishing demonstration of power made by Germany in the recent war. It must be noted that "the big fighting man,"[37] who appears on the next page as "gentle," is elsewhere described as rather stupid but honest.[38] No doubt our Germano-phobes would accept one half of this characterization. But perhaps one can explain the recent war power of Germany by the fact that there still persisted among them some nine millions of pure Teutons, pure in complexion, stature and head-form.[39] That so many should have remained untainted by mongrel blood after centuries of extensive racial miscegenation constitutes a miracle of race segregation and aristocratic caste mating. But if there remain so many pure-breds, there must be a multitude more who are largely Nordic. Why then the lack of chivalry? Or is this only an historical illusion? Or were the servile Alpines in control of the German armies? The matter is hopelessly confusing when viewed solely from the racial angle; only one thing stands out clearly, namely, that no one can escape contradictions

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–8.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

who enters the precarious domain of the interpretation of history in terms of the psychology of racial types.

But with Spain already ruined through the absorption of its Nordic blood, France and Germany already fallen over the brink which leads to extinction, and England and America fast on the way, the outlook for civilization is certainly hopeless. With the growth of cities the energetic, ambitious Nordics flock there more abundantly than the less ambitious Mediterraneans and fade away forever.[40] Here re-echoes Gobineau and the unproven and apparently contrary-to-fact doctrine of Nordic urban affinity advanced by Ammon and Lapouge, which we have discussed in a previous chapter. But one ought not to despair as yet for Grant tells us that "Recent calculations show that there are about 90,000,000 of purely Nordic physical type in Europe." Since he would count a majority of Americans as of this type also the world has not lost all its salt. When one recalls that, according to Nordic biblical doctrines, a handful of Nordics were at one time responsible for the glories of Greece and at another for the grandeur of Rome, one may reasonably expect that the 150,000,000 millions or so still extant will save civilization for many generations to come.

Although the author very strongly denies any identity of race and culture, especially language, in the earlier pages of the book, he makes varied uses of this assumption in the later chapters. Beginning on page 190 the epic fervor of the author rises to a grand poetical review of all the ancient civilizations, Asiatic and European, after the classical example of the founder of the school of Aryanism. It is interesting to note the re-echo of Woltmann in the claim that the great lights of the Italian renaissance were blonds, "a fact easily recognized by a close inspection of busts or portraits in North Italy. Dante, Raphael, Titian, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci were all of Nordic type." [41] One may here with profit recall Chamberlain's discussion of Dante and Luther. So also the "gods of Olympus" and imagined Venuses

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

of supposed Greek paintings were blonds; "in church pictures today all angels are blonds"; devils "revel in deep brunetness"; in the tapestries the earls were blond but the churls were black-haired; in the crucifixion the thieves were made brunets "in contrast to the blond Saviour. This latter is something more than a convention, as such quasi-authentic information as we have of our Lord indicates his Nordic, possibly Greek, physical and moral attributes."[42] And could anything be more exquisitely scientific and philosophically profound than the following: "The Philistines and Amorites may have been of the Nordic race. Certain references to the size of the sons of Anak and to the fairness of David, whose mother was an Amoritish woman, point vaguely in this direction."[43] Would that Chamberlain were gifted with a sense of humor and could read these echoes!!

This book has been so widely quoted in this country that it may be profitable, after this cursory presentation of its general point of view, to subject it to a more careful scrutiny. In the first place, who are these Nordics? They are the blond dolichos of Aryan tradition; they originated south of the Baltic in eastern Germany, Poland, Russia and Scandinavia where they enjoyed a long period of isolated incubation, and spread thence toward the east, south and west.[44] At one place,[45] however, Grant implies that there may be some doubt about this location. He feels certain that the Aryan languages and the Nordic species began in the same place and he is somewhat impressed by the argument that the original center of Aryan speech may have been somewhere in eastern Europe. If one give any credence to the simple but brightly colored maps at the end of the book, this forbidding sub-Arctic homeland gave birth to a fabulous number of Nordics, all of "pure" or "purest" strain, who overwhelmed with wave after wave of giant warriors the native peoples far and near on the Eurasian continent.[46]

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[46] See especially Chapter VIII, "The Expansion of the Nordics."

But while Grant is certain that all blonds are Nordics and all pure Nordics, blonds, he realizes the necessity of taking account of the Nordic brunets which may be found in especially great frequency in the British Isles.[47] We have seen that Chamberlain met a similar difficulty by inventing a new kind of spiritual anthropology. Grant finds that the combination of traits met in hybrids is "disharmonic"; these disharmonies include specifically, "a tall brunet or a short blond; blue eyes associated with brunet hair, brown eyes with blond hair";[48] or "the skull-shape, hair-color, and stature of the Alpine race, with the light eye-color of the Nordic race"; or "the stature of the Nordic race and an Alpine skull and coloration."[49] He does not tell us what happens to the disharmonious persons, but one might suppose they represented something to which nature seriously objected were they not so numerous. We may recall that Woltmann found many of them to be highly gifted. Moreover, Grant himself informs us that black Iberian hair is found frequently combined with light eyes in Ireland and Spain and "greatly admired for their beauty."[50] He also notices that Alexander the Great with his Nordic features, though his eyes were mixed, "the left blue and the right very black," nevertheless typifies the Nordic conquest of the Near East. One can see that Grant here tells more of truth than he suspects for no doubt these so-called Nordics were, like their leader, much mixed in racial type. But in any case if disharmony has the results of creating beauties and conquerors one is left in some doubt as to its seriousness from the standpoint of racial and social values. Regardless of standards of beauty about which there is certain to be some difference of opinion, it cannot be denied that those populations which have constituted the world's historic peoples have one and all been greatly mixed. The Nordic element has been a frequent ingredient, but it has been only one of several. Nor can it be demonstrated that the crosses of such closely related races as those found in Europe have proven detri-

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

mental to vigor or ability. Great genius has always been most abundant so far as its actual manifestation is concerned among the heterogeneous populations of great cities. If such disharmonies as Grant speaks of increase the supply of great men, let us have more of them.

Grant settles the Celtic question with little reference to the sharp differences of opinion regarding it and the great difficulties involved in it [51] and in the most off-hand simplistic fashion. We have seen that, if the term Celt is to be applied to a racial type, the almost universal opinion now is that it should refer to the brunetish, round-headed Alpine. Over and over again, however, Grant implies that the original Celts were Nordics; [52] the first Nordics in European history spoke Celtic; and he, perhaps consistently, reiterates that the Gauls were distinctly Nordic, as were the Goidelic and Brythonic Celts; [53] consequently Celtic speech must have been imposed on conquered Alpines by the Nordics who originated it. Similarly, "the Proto-Slavic language, being Aryan, must have been at some distant date imposed by Nordics on Alpines." [54] There is nothing certain about this except that it is a relic of the Teutonic version of the Nordic myth; and in this it is like his declaration that there was once an Aryan race which must be identical with "the Nordic invaders of Hindustan, now long extinct." [55]

But such deductive inference is characteristic. As we read Grant we learn that the Nordics, during their long period of isolation in their Baltic homeland, not only originated the various Celtic tongues, the original Slavic and the various Teutonic dialects, but they moved out upon the peoples to the east and south of them in such conquering hordes that even to this day they constitute the upper layer throughout western Europe. "In western and central Europe, in relation to the Nordic race, the Alpine is everywhere the ancient, underlying and submerged

[51] See his brief discussion pp. 57–9.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 62, 157, *et passim.*
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 131, 141, 156–8 *et passim.*
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

type." "The Alpine race forms to-day, as in Cæsar's time, the great bulk of the population of central France, with a Nordic aristocracy resting upon it." [56]

Similarly the vexing and hotly disputed question of Prussian origins is settled with precision as follows: "The truth is that the dominant half of the population is purely Teutonic and the lower half merely Teutonized Wends and Poles of Alpine affinities." It must be remembered that there are almost no data of an authoritative sort relating to the present Prussian population, but what there are indicate that it is about four-fifths round-headed. There is no way of knowing whether round heads or long heads are more numerous among the upper classes in Prussia now or at any time in recent centuries. If one were to make a guess the only reasonable assertion would be that the probabilities are that intermediate head-forms are more numerous among such classes than either genuinely long or genuinely round heads, but that the latter are more numerous than the former. Moreover, the subtle innuendo in the words "underlying," "submerged," and "lower half," evidences attachment to a doctrine and an interest in its propagation. If the submerged portion of the German population has produced such round-heads as Luther, Goethe and Hindenburg along with thousands of lesser lights it must have some qualities which entitle it to respect.

But this matter of submergences is not altogether clear even to the reader of Grant. He lays it down as a principle of racial amalgamation, for which one might wish for more adequate evidence, and which is clearly an echo of that still unsettled question as to which of the sexes is the more variable, that "Women in all human races, as the females among all mammals, tend to exhibit the older, more generalized and primitive traits of the race's past. The male in his development indicates the direction in which the race is tending under the influence of variation and selection." [57] Now these principles are preceded by this impor-

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 23. We cannot omit all reference at this point to a fine example of Grantian mysticism: "In the spiritual realm also, women retain the ancient and intuitive knowledge that the great mass of mankind is not

tant generalization: "In Nordic populations the women are, in general, lighter haired than the men, a fact which points to a blond past and a darker future for those populations." [58] Grant also says: "It must be borne in mind that the specializations which characterize the higher races are of relatively recent development, are highly unstable and when mixed with generalized or primitive characters, tend to disappear." [59] Now this brings us to a pretty situation. Recently specialized and therefore presumably superior or advanced traits are unstable and give way in a mixed population to more primitive ones; women exhibit the primitive traits in unusual frequency; but we see a resurgence of blondness among the women in a mixed Nordic population. Are we to conclude that, therefore, the Nordics are a more primitive type of man? If so, how about their boasted superiority due to a very recent and delicately stable specialization?

But the case is even more confusing. If this resurgence of blondness among the women indicates the persistence of primitive stable traits, why should one fear "a darker future for those populations"? According to the law of resurgence of ancient types one ought to look for an increasing blondness, that is, if it be true that the women exhibit ancient blond traits in marked frequency. Or perhaps the anti-Nordic might argue that this unusual frequency of blondness among the women in presumably Nordic populations indicates that the blonds are now the socially inferior stock and that Alpine invaders, according to the immemorial law of conquering hosts, are finding wives among them. In any case, the fear of "a darker future" is well grounded for it rests on the progressive darkening of complexions and broadening of heads in western Europe. Grant, along with all the other Teutonists, fears that this gradual submergence of the blond fighting man will mean the passing of civilization in Europe. But such a fear seems inadequately based, for this progressive

free and equal, but bond and unequal." p. 23. The knowledge may be sound, but on what ground may one claim that the women have specially divined it?

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

brachycephalization has been going on for about 4000 years in western Europe, not to mention eastern, and there is every reason to suppose that the mixture of Alpine and Nordic, of Alpine and Mediterranean, of Nordic and Mediterranean, or of all three, makes a better basis for a high and complex civilization than any one of them in its greatest purity.

But what is one to say to all this biological and anthropological charlatanry when he finds that the basic assumption is contrary to fact. More than a generation ago Beddoe, who made extensive studies of hair-, skin- and eye-color not only in the British Isles but among the populations of Belgium, France and elsewhere, noted that the degree of nigrescence of females considerably exceeded that of males. F. G. Parsons has recently confirmed this for the British population [60] which Grant considers almost purely Nordic. The women in this particular Nordic area are darker than the men. If there be any resurgence, it is that of the ancient dark-haired, long-headed Britons of Mediterranean lineage. Grant may be right in holding that women exhibit ancient or primitive racial traits more frequently than men. Ripley accepted the doctrine.[61] But here once again Grant elaborates a thin gossamer of contradictory hypotheses on the basis of facts that are not so.

We do not pause to discuss the general question raised by the fact noted by various investigators that women exhibit a deeper pigmentation than men. Pigmentation, according to increasingly convincing evidence, has an endocrine basis. One would for this reason expect to find some difference between the sexes in its intensity. It is not improbable that it is, in some way, also a mark of vitality, but, if so, its importance is far from clear.

We have mentioned Grant's easy solution of the Celtic and Prussian questions. His settlement of the equally vexing Finnic problem is of like character. He admits the problem is difficult, and one can see that it is so even from his scanty statement. The Esths, the Livonians and the Finns all speak a non-Aryan

[60] "The Colour Index of the British Isles," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* vol. 50, 1920, pp. 159–82.

[61] *Op. cit.,* pp. 399, 427.

Ural-Altaic language, "but the physical type of all these tribes is distinctly Nordic." Except along the western and southwestern coasts, the great bulk of the Finns are brachycephalic, "though otherwise thoroughly Nordic in type. It would seem that here the Alpine element were the more ancient." [62] He also claims for the Nordics the primitive population of Russia, "the so-called Finnic element, which may be considered as Proto-Nordic." [63] All this is very easy and simple. He makes the original Slavic tongue Nordic, spreads his Nordics all over Russia more than 4000 years ago, and solves the puzzle of non-Aryan speaking, brachycephalic but blond peoples who thrust themselves into the very homeland of the Nordics, and who "can lay claim to the honor of antedating the Aryan tongue in Muscovite territories," by calling them all distinctly Nordic in physical type!!

In this connection it is worth noting as showing the worthlessness of such easy solutions that Dixon, after admitting that a satisfactory solution is impossible, concludes that the original Finns were brachycephalic. Speaking of "the supposedly pre-Slavic, and, therefore, Finnic crania," he says: [64] The probability is very strong that the people displaced by the incoming Slavs in northern and central Russia were in large part the ancestors of the present Finns." Elsewhere [65] he presents the opposed hypotheses and concludes that the original Finns who entered Finland from the east and south must have been predominantly brachycephalic. At present and since the eleventh century the proportion of brachycephaly increases from north to south and west to east. This comports with the thesis of an original brachycephalous Finnic element which came in around Lake Ladoga and afterwards mixed with dolichocephalous Swedish elements which would be most numerous in the north and west. Is this the proto-Nordic Finnic element which Grant spreads over Russia? We may also note that Grant gives us no clue to the immense difficulties surrounding the determination of the nature of the original Slav,

[62] *Op. cit.*, pp. 203–4.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[64] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123–4.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–3.

but Dixon, after warning the reader that any solution is beset with apparently insoluble difficulties on the basis of the existing scanty evidence, concludes that they were dolichocephalic and indistinguishable from the Teutons![66] Both Dixon and Peake[67] indicate that the population of Russia was heterogeneous in the days when kurgans, the main sources of pre-historic anthropological evidence, were built. Peake calls attention to the finding of both long and round skulls in the same mounds,[68] while Dixon says: "In the north, thus, Slav and non-Slav are alike brachycelphalic: in the center and east both are primarily dolichocephalic; while in the south, in Kiev, they are both brachycephalic. The division into Slav and non-Slav thus ceases to be significant."[69] In any case it should be clear that when Grant calls all these types "Nordic" and "proto-Nordic," thus lumping together wide extremes of head-form (Dixon finds a considerable Mongoloid element among the Finns), he is speaking in an unpardonably loose manner.

We may pause here to note first that all the evidence available indicates that this mixture of types in Russia, Finland and Sweden of to-day is not recent but to a greater or less extent goes back not merely a few centuries but several thousand years. This does not mean that these populations were at that time as mixed as those of western Europe to-day, but were so much so that the adjective "racially pure" cannot properly be applied to them, if the term race be conceived in a strict sense. Thus Dixon speaks of the original Finns as "primarily" brachycephalic, revealing a wide range of variation, even obvious mixture, of types in the populations of these areas long years ago.

A second worth-while observation is that there is a very considerable body of broad-headed blonds around the Gulf of Finland.[70] Grant lays down as a dogma that the Nordics are

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 106, 107, 118–26.

[67] *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World,* London, 1922, especially pp. 153–8.

[68] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[70] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–30.

the sole source of all the blond traits, blond hair, blue eyes, and light skin in the world. "The combination of blue eyes and flaxen hair is never Alpine."[71] It is a popular theory that the Nordics secured their blondness in consequence of a process of depigmentation which is explained by the special climatic conditions of the Baltic basin. But loss of pigment could not result from lessened sunlight or other climatic factors. It can be explained only by a mutation or series of mutations resulting in the dropping out of some of the genes for pigment. Such a loss of genetic factors would not, according to present biological opinion, be directly or indirectly due to climatic conditions; such changes occur under varied environmental conditions, with or without change of habitat. Once they occur they will be preserved by the environmental conditions if they are favorable to survival; otherwise they will be eliminated. Now, it should be clear that such changes of genetic constitution could occur in a round-headed people as readily as in a long-headed one. Numerous writers derive the Nordics from the Mediterraneans. It would be no more difficult to derive the equally blond but broad-headed Finns, Esths, Letts and Lithuanians from the Alpine stock by similar process of mutational change. On the other hand, such mutational changes would not be likely to occur in two different racial stocks, although they might. It is probably easier in theory to derive the broad-headed blonds from a Nordic-Alpine cross than from two independent series of mutational changes of pigment. But the matter is not soluble on the basis of fact and when submitted to speculation meets with difficulties.

But it is an interesting speculative question to ask how it would be possible for a hundred per cent pure blond stock to arise out of a brunet one? As just stated, in the light of current genetic doctrine it seems improbable that blondness in man represents a response of the organism to climatic conditions. The change from brunetness to blondness must have been in the form of definite mutational variations, large or small.[72] The

[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

[72] See Thorstein Veblen, "The Mutation Theory and the Blond Race," *Journal of Race Development*, vol. 3, 1913, pp. 491–507.

tall blond has a distinctly narrower range of climatic toleration than the yellow man, less even than the Alpine type of European.[73] But it cannot be said that the relative range of the climatic tolerance of the dolicho-blond and the brachy-blond has been accurately determined. If one may judge by habitat the brachy-blond is as well adapted to a cold climate as the dolicho-blond.

All of the strictly scientific investigations known to the writer indicate dominance of dark over light eyes.[74] The crossing of a pure blue-eyed stock with the same gives only blue-eyed offspring. The crossing of pure pigmented stock with the pure blue-eyed gives only brown-eyed offspring. But these hybrids when crossed give a considerable proportion, 25 to 33 per cent of blue-eyed offspring. Thus blue eyes will persist in a hybrid population of blonds and brunets but tend to become fewer and fewer in the normal pan-mixia of unselected marriages. The only way in which a population prevailingly blue-eyed could be derived from a hybrid blond-brunet stock would be through the operation of some powerful selective factor favoring the blue-eyed persons, either in marriage or in fertility or both. Mere assortative mating, or the tendency of like to marry like, would not account for any predominant frequency of blue eyes in such a hybrid population, though it might prevent their obliteration through panmixia.

If, then, blond mutants appeared in a brunet stock they would be in great danger of re-absorption into the parent stock. This could be prevented only (1) by continued recurrence of such mutations, in considerable numbers through a long period of time. (2) by their segregation in mating, and (3) by superior survival power of the blonds under the established climatic conditions. It is not improbable that all of these factors may have played a part

[73] See C. E. Woodruff, *The Effects of Tropical Light on the White Man,* New York, 1905.

[74] Consult C. C. Hurst, "On the Inheritance of Eye-Colour in Man," *Proc. Royal Soc.,* vol. 80, 1908, pp. 84–96; S. J. Holmes and H. M. Loomis, "The Heredity of Eye-Color and Hair-Color in Man," *Biol. Bull.,* vol. 18, 1909, pp. 50–65; G. C. and C. B. Davenport, "Heredity of Eye-Color in Man," *Science,* N. S. Nov. 1907, pp. 589–92; C. B. Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics,* New York, 1911, pp. 27–31.

in the derivation of the prevailingly blond stocks from pure brunet ancestry.

Now, all these factors could have worked as effectively to derive a round-headed blond population from Alpine ancestry as to derive a long-headed blond one from Mediterranean ancestry. And this would certainly be a possible explanation of the broad-headed blonds. On the other hand, it is also clear that they might also have derived the East Baltic peoples from a cross of Alpine and already depigmented Mediterraneans. This latter cross would not prevent the association of round heads and blond features as these characters are independent in inheritance. We thus reach the conclusion that, although the round-headed blonds may have derived their blondness from so-called Nordic ancestry, it is possible they may have had an independent origin.

But it would be a serious mistake to dogmatize about a matter that, as stated above, cannot be solved on a basis of fact. There is, indeed, not a little ground for supposing the light eye to be remarkably persistent, more persistent than the accredited theories of its recessiveness would explain. Peake [75] says: "In Germany the fair colouring of the Nordic element seems to be a dominant character over the relatively dark pigmentation of the Alpine; so we meet with a majority of people having broad Alpine heads but fair Nordic coloration. The light eye seems to be more frequent than blond shades of hair, although blondness of hair, skin and eye tend to be associated in inheritance." [76]

[75] *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

[76] Some recent studies bearing on these points are: F. G. Parsons, "Anthropological Observations on German Prisoners of War," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 49, 1919, p. 203, and "The Color Index of the British *Isles*," *Ibid.*, vol. 50, 1920, pp. 159–82. In the former Parsons shows that the percentage of prisoners having both light hair and light eyes ranged from 40 for Baden and Alsace and 48 for Bavaria to 70 for Hanover and 74 for Westphalia. It was 61 in such widely separated states as Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony and Posen. In the later study Parsons shows that almost nowhere in the British Isles does the percentage of the population having dark eyes and dark brown to black hair fall below 25 per cent, while the percentage with fair hair, in a classification of red, fair, brown, dark, black, is seldom as much as 20 per cent. Light eyes are distinctly more frequent than light hair. If all eyes be classed as either light or dark,

If nature seems, in teleological phrase, bent on preserving the type, she seems equally "bent" on insuring diversity. Certain it is that round-headed blonds become more numerous in those areas of western Europe that until modern times were relatively free from the impress of the Alpine stock. While, therefore, Grant's unproved assertion that all blond traits come from the Nordics is not disprovable, this discussion does serve to bring out what appears to be a very important observation, namely the probably hybrid character of all those populations amidst which blond traits appear. It is not at all probable that blond mutants could ever have been so numerous at one time or so segregated by habitat or by social taboos that they mated exclusively among themselves and thus produced simon-pure blond stocks. They must always have bred back into the parent stock, so that the populations among which blonds are found would almost certainly contain obviously hybrid types also.

When to this is added the race mixture due to migration and conquest, one can understand why, even in those communities where there is the largest proportion of blond traits, there is always a very large proportion of brunet traits also. One can thus see why it is that pure blond types are extremely rare even in areas of highest blondness; why even in Sweden and Hanover mixed types predominate.

One can also readily understand why the pictures drawn by the Gobineau-Grant school of a pure-blond super-race of immaculate purity spreading itself in waves of conquest throughout the vast Eur-Asian continent represents a large draft on imagination and credulity. There is no basis in fact nor in theory for the doctrine of conquering waves of pure blond heroes. The concept of an Aryan, or a Nordic, or any other race of pure blond and dolichocephalous traits playing a leading rôle in the history of ancient and modern times is a pure invention of an ardent artistic imagination. There can be no doubt that some historic groups possessed more blonds than others; some probably possessed none. But blondness never reached purity; it always remained

about 60 per cent would be light. The author calls attention to the apparent persistence of the light eye and medium shades of hair.

relative. In view of man's tendency to seize upon the unusual and the striking and his tendency to romanticize and idealize plus the inevitable hybridity of all stocks showing blond variates, it seems highly probable that distinctly blond individuals were never more than a small fraction of those migrating Aryan, Nordic, Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon tribes which have figured so largely in the literature of Aryanism. The blond "heroes" of ancient myth and story in all probability represent the idealization of the occasional blond rather than the unimaginative representation of the truly typical.

Grant's dogmatic simplification of unsolved and as yet unsolvable problems has many other illustrations. Thus Sweden, which is made the original homeland of the various Teutonic tribes, is a country "in which there has been but a single racial type from the beginning." [77] "Denmark, Norway and Sweden are all purely Nordic and yearly contribute swarms of a splendid type of immigrants to America, and are now as they have been for thousands of years, the nursery and broodland of the master race." [78] It is true that Scandinavia, as compared with the rest of western Europe reveals a high degree of racial homogeneity but it has also had its record of varying proportions of anthropological types. Considerable Alpine and Mediterranean elements are revealed in the crania of Neolithic times; only two-thirds of them were dolichocephalic or sub-dolichocephalic. Since then the proportion of long heads has increased, but it is still true to-day that long heads and round heads are nearly evenly balanced in much of southern and most of northern Sweden; and that brunets also are numerous in both north and south, in some places nearly as numerous as blonds. Similar statements apply to Norway and Denmark.[79] From the monumental Anthropologia Suecica (1902) of Retzius and Fürst detailing the traits of nearly 45,000 recruits, one learns that pure Nordic types combining genuinely long heads, tall stature, fair hair and light eyes were found to the extent of 10.7 per cent; that these, together with those with similar traits except

[77] Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[79] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–9; Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–20.

for mesocephalic heads, comprised 29 per cent of the entire population. These figures, however, do not sufficiently express the existence of Nordic traits for two-thirds (66.7 per cent) had light eyes, three-fourths (75.3 per cent) had fair hair, and four-fifths (87 per cent) had head indexes under 80.[80] One wonders if Grant is such a poor observer that he has never seen a round-headed, medium-statured, black-haired, dark-eyed Swede. There are many good specimens in America. We may add that Pittard looks upon the tall brachycephals of those countries as representatives of the Dinaric race whose chief center is along the Danube River and the Adriatic Sea; and he finds them "to have been intrepid navigators." [81]

Quite similar, though evidencing more self-contradiction and more idealization, is Grant's treatment of the Greeks and Romans. We are told that the Mediterranean race was responsible for the civilizations of Egypt, Crete, Etruria, Phœnicia, Tyre, Sidon and Carthage; it must have chief credit for the civilization of Greece and much for that of Rome.[82] Incidentally one may note in passing that the Aryanism of Gobineau has here shrunk to a mere shadow of its original self. Grant even goes so far as to say that the Mediterraneans remained the chief agent of civilization until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 A. D. It seems a pity therefore for the critic to seek for contradictions and exaggerations of Nordic influences in the words of one who has paid such a high tribute to the short dark peoples. But Greece is an important case because of its immense contributions to civilization in the fine arts, literature, science and philosophy. The complex story of Greek racial history is told in four or five pages [83] in which there is much emphasis on Nordic Phrygians, from whom came the "huge blond princes, the heroes of Homer," who commanded the Greeks and the Trojans; and the Nordic Hellenes or Dorians who destroyed the Homeric-Mycenæan civilization and

[80] See *The Swedish Nation,* by H. Lundborg and J. Runnström, Stockholm, 1921, pp. 24–33.

[81] Pittard, *op. cit.,* pp. 218–9.

[82] Grant, *op. cit.,* pp. 148–9.

[83] *Ibid.,* pp. 143 *et seq.*

laid the basis for the Classical. Sparta is pictured as particularly Nordic on account of the purity of its Dorian stock, while Athens is more of a mixture. Sparta thus exhibited the military efficiency, the thorough organization and the patriotic sacrifice of the individual to the state characteristic of Nordics everywhere and exemplified in modern Prussia, while Athens exhibited the intellectual brilliancy, the instability, the extreme individualism, the tendency to treason and conspiracy so characteristic of populations having a large Mediterranean element, and exemplified by modern France. By 339 B. C. the Nordic strains of Greece were so diluted that they fell an easy prey to the troops of Philip and Alexander which "were Nordic and represented the uncultured but unmixed ancestral types of the Achæans and Hellenes." Alexander is of course Nordic, that is for the most part, for, though he has Nordic features, aquiline nose and wavy yellow hair, his right eye is blue and the left very black; but he "typifies this Nordic conquest of the Near East." But gradually the Nordic blood was impaired by mixture and the glory that was Greece faded. But, "It is interesting to note that the Greek states in which the Nordic element was most predominant outlived the other states. Athens fell before Sparta, and Thebes outlived them both." So that to-day if one seek in its purity the smooth and regular features, the classic brow and chiselled nose of the ancient Greeks, he must seek it among the pure Nordics of Anglo-Norman type.

Now all this is entrancing; it is full of imagination and epic quality. Unfortunately the authorities do not agree. Thus Dixon finds that the Dorians, Grant's "new hordes of Nordic barbarians" who laid the basis of Classical Greece, were predominantly Alpine round-heads. Now, no one can tell whether Dixon is right or not, as he himself would probably admit, but he utilizes what real anthropological evidence there is and does not rely solely on idealized history and tradition. The result is doubly interesting, for Dixon thus finds that Sparta was predominantly Alpine while Athens was primarily a mixture of northern and southern long-heads with a minority of Alpines, and suggests that the conflict between Athens and Sparta may have had somewhat the character of a racial conflict between the brachycephals and the dolicho-

cephals.[84] It thus turns out, on this basis, that the militarism and efficiency and patriotism of Sparta were due to the round-heads; and one might with easy logic, were he so inclined, explain the development of these qualities in modern Prussia on the same basis. Moreover, if Sparta outlived Athens it was not due to its special Nordic vigor but to a certain tenacious hold on life which the Alpines have exhibited in western Europe for several thousand years!

One may apparently take the Spartans either way, Nordic or Alpine, and build their psychic traits and their cultural institutions according to his fancy. Perhaps, however, it is best to take a cue from Dixon, who does not mention the Achæans, finds the Phrygians a mixture of long- and round-heads and concludes after extensive search that the verifiable evidence regarding the racial composition of the Greek population at these early dates is so scanty as to make discussion of the racial history of that country "almost futile."[85] The outstanding facts seem to be that the Greeks were a highly heterogeneous people living in a habitat where they were subject to great political and cultural stimulation on account of their access to Egyptian and Asiatic influences, and that their civilizations are striking evidences of the theory that great advances in culture follow upon the admixture of more or less varied racial elements. Such advances seem to be especially notable when these elements are the main varieties of the European peoples brought together in favorable geographical areas and subject to a variety of political and cultural stimuli.

Lest it be assumed that I am presuming to prove or disprove certain theses regarding the prehistoric population of Greece let me add that I have no theory as to the dominance of this or that element. It seems certain only that the Greeks even in the pre-classical era were a very heterogeneous people. That would not prevent their thinking of themselves as all alike in contrast to barbarians nor thinking of themselves as divided into distinctive groups in contrast to one another. The flowering of Greek civilization in the Age of Pericles was doubtless due to both cultural

[84] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 93–5, and 515.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

and biological factors. Such geniuses as Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and the others cannot be explained by environment alone, otherwise Athens would have had many more of them. Such men are extremely rare any time, anywhere. That they were of one racial type seems highly improbable. That in their ancestry they each counted persons of differing racial type is also highly probable.

As a part of his Nordic propaganda Grant greatly reduces the actual rôle of the round-heads in the historical and cultural development of Europe. He admits that in primitive times they made large contributions to civilization in introducing to the nomadic hunters of Europe the arts of pottery making, of grain cultivation and of domesticating animals.[86] But they played little part in classic, mediæval or modern times, and latterly "have been so thoroughly Nordicized that they exist rather as an element in Nordic race development than as an independent type." [87] There is here implied a sort of incapacity of the Alpines to get on by themselves and their subordination to the directing genius and superior destinies of the Nordics. There is a world of suggestive depreciation in the word, "Nordicized," and its associate, "Teutonized." [88] Their meanings are never quite clear but whatever meanings are attached represent a compound of one part truth and nine parts imagination, suspended in a mixture of exaggeration and suggestion.

In some places a racial transformation seems implied in which the Alpines have lost their primary traits and taken on those of their conquerors. "The European Alpines retain little of their Asiatic origin, except the skull, and have been in contact with the Nordic race so long that in central and western Europe they were everywhere saturated with the blood of that race." Hence such presumably "good Germans" as "the Württemburgers, Bavarians, Austrians, Swiss and Tyrolese, are merely Teutonized Alpines." [89] "In Bavaria and the Tyrol the Alpines are so thoroughly Teuton-

[86] But Peake considers the Nordics the original horsemen and cattlemen of the European plains.

[87] Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–31, and 132.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 132 *et passim.*

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

ized that their true racial affinities are betrayed by their round skulls alone." [90] Now all this vast area contains a mixture of racial elements; almost nowhere, indeed, can it be claimed that the Nordic and the Alpine are the only ones. But even if they were, the Alpine traits are in preponderance and it is just as fitting to speak of such areas as containing Alpinized Teutons or Alpinized Nordics as the other way about. Such a designation would better serve to bring out the fact that this region has been undergoing a progressive brachycephalization for many centuries. In fact the gravest fear that afflicts the Madison Grants is that this process of Alpinizing will become even more complete. If there be any truth in his maps at the close of the book, one is warranted in saying that most of the one-time habitat of the Nordics has now been thoroughly Alpinized. Of course, such a term would not bring out the assumed superiority of the Nordics, but it harmonizes best with the fact that it is the Alpines which have steadily shown a greater survival power. Whether this is due to the dominance of their head-form and hair-color, to the greater stability and soundness of certain combinations of traits over others, or to the selective action of differential birth and death rates is not clear.

But the true view is in part expressed by Grant himself in the "Introduction": "The living populations of Europe consist of layer after layer of diverse racial elements in varying proportions. Aborginal populations from time immemorial have been again and again swamped under floods of newcomers and have disappeared for a time from historical view. In the course of centuries, however, these primitive elements have slowly reasserted their physical type and have gradually bred out their conquerors, so that the racial history of Europe has been in the past and is to-day a story of the repression and the resurgence of ancient races." [91] It may well be doubted whether the Alpines were ever over any extensive area so swamped by Nordic invaders that they were wholly lost to the observing eye, but there seems to be universal agreement that they have shown a certain prepotency in survival power.

But perhaps Grant means by "Nordicized" the imposition of

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[91] *Ibid.*, pp. xvii–xviii.

Nordic culture. In this case the term seems wholly unfit. Not only did the round-heads introduce agriculture and pottery and possibly also domestic animals but they also brought that bronze culture which, as Grant himself says, "revolutionized the world." [92] This is not to say that they were the original inventors of bronze, for the identity of the inventor of 6000 years ago is lost in antiquity, but they carried it all over Europe, even into Spain and Ireland, as one may learn from Grant's table [93] but not from his text. As to the Hallstatt iron culture, Grant has this to say: "Whether or not the Alpines introduced from Asia or invented in Europe the smelting of iron, it was the Nordics who benefited by its use." [94] Whether or not any one but a Nordicist would accept the notion that only the Nordics profited by the introduction of iron, it is sufficiently evident that at three successive times the culture of the Nordic peoples underwent revolutions in consequence of changes introduced by migrants who were on the best of evidence predominantly composed of round-heads: when they were transformed from nomadic hunters to settled agriculturists, when they acquired bronze, and when they acquired iron. Could any further evidence be needed that, so far as culture is concerned, the Nordics were thoroughly and to their great benefit Alpinized?

The reader will not miss the point in this long discussion of the term "Nordicized." We seek to make no case for the Alpine, but we do wish to bring out the propaganda nature of the Grantian presentation of the relations of the long- and the round-heads. The Celtic problem is as difficult and at present as insoluble as the Aryan. One can have an opinion only, and that a very insecure one, as to whether they were long-heads or round-heads. As already indicated there is a general tendency on the part of German scholars to view them as long-heads, offset by the tendency of the French scholars, backed by Taylor, Sergi, Pittard, Dixon and others to make them round-heads. Peake has recently gone over the whole evidence again from his special viewpoint and concludes that both Goidelic (Gaelic or Q) and Brythonic (Cymric

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

or P) Celts were Wiros, related to the original Aryans, and of blond long-headed type. But it is characteristic of the evidence that he finds the Alpine intruders such as the Swiss Lake Dwellers, had penetrated the Alpine highlands by 6000 B. C. By 5000 B. C. they had settled in northern France and Belgium. About 4000 B. C. fresh waves of these broad-headed immigrants from the Armenian and Anatolian plateaus reached Switzerland and the *massif central* of France.[95] It was 1500 years later that he posits the beginnings of those movements of central European peoples which he seeks to identify with his long-headed Celts. He also presents a picture of "Many Invasions" [96] and of wanderings of the Wiros from the Russian steppes in all directions often in small bands, in some of which he admits Alpine followers. The main point that stands out is the lack of uniformity of the ancient skulls found in all areas and the archæological evidence of the repeated mixture and diffusion of cultures. It would seem also that there is general agreement with Peake's statement that the broad heads introduced "the knowledge of grain, cultivated fruits and domesticated animals, and the custom of erecting pile-dwellings in marshes or lakes, and of grinding and polishing axes of flint and other hard stone." [97]

The Bronze Age or Round Barrow men who brought bronze culture into western Europe about 2000 B. C. were also brachycephalic. Parsons [98] finds them to have had high, short and broad skulls with rugged features and heavy eye ridges; Keith thinks their cranial index seldom rose above 84.[99] When Peake [100] suggests that they were a hybrid stock he makes a suggestion of much wider application. The Celtic puzzle is like the Aryan and both are like an enormous picture puzzle for which a half of all the parts are missing. It has, therefore, become an interesting game on the part

[95] Peake, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 61–70.

[96] *Ibid.*, Chap. VI.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[98] "On Some Bronze Age and Jutish Bones from Broadstairs," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 43, 1913, pp. 550–92.

[99] Arthur Keith, "The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 45, 1915.

[100] *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

of certain specialists to make elaborate guesses as to how certain parts can be put together. Each tends to neglect some parts already found, to explain away other parts, to invent numerous hypothetical parts, to simplify the whole and put his selected pieces together into a symmetrical and artistically-colored creation. There can be little objection to this so long as the guessing is kept on a professional plane and confined to those who realize its limitations, just as in trading in the stock-market or wheat-pit. But there must be strenuous objections to such dogmatizings and imaginings as Grant's when put out for popular consumption at times when popular emotions are already inflamed to a murderous degree.

This author's various pronouncements on the subject of racial inheritance and racial amalgamations are in keeping with the general dogmatic tone of the work. His claim that skull-shape, stature, eye-color, hair-color, and nose-form are unit characters [101] states the matter all too simply, is distinctly out of harmony with modern genetics and makes it possible to draw erroneous conclusions. He looks upon these (really complex) "unit" characters as immutable,[102] a viewpoint irreconcilable with any theory of evolutionary change. He scorns all influence of environment,[103] but he does not tell us how it came about that the Nordics became so highly specialized to the rugged climatic conditions and the great out-of-doors to which he finds them fitted. Though he does tell us that the "Alpine race in Europe is now so thoroughly acclimated that it is no longer Asiatic in any respect," [104] there is no indication of the unique features of European climate as contrasted with Asiatic to which adaptation would be necessary or difficult. In still another place he alludes to the influence of environment,[105] where he admits that the character of the food or the physical environment may affect stature to a slight extent. He alleges that "Mountaineers all over the world tend to be tall and vigorous," a highly questionable statement, certainly untrue when put

[101] Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–2.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

as a universal fact, and one which contradicts those which immediately follow. This tallness is said to be due to the selective action of the severe mountainous conditions whose altitude operates like an increase in latitude. One would conclude that the peoples of high latitudes must be tall; but, "the short stature of the Lapps and Eskimo may have been originally attributable to the trying conditions of an Arctic habitat." One is left a little puzzled to know why an unfavorable environment should produce tall races in the mountains and short ones in the Arctics, when altitude operates like latitude.

But one would expect to find error mixed with truth in Grant's biological generalizations. They are hastily made and unimportant for his thesis as a whole. He has succeeded in reviving in a very attractive form and at an opportune time themes which greatly interested scholars in the third and fourth quarters of the last century but which had, by the opening of the twentieth century, lost their romantic quality.

In the light of present facts, scanty as they are, and in view of the contradictory views of its proponents on many important issues, it seems clear that the doctrine of a pure Nordic race that originated the Aryan languages and spread its superior culture and civilizing capacities throughout the Eur-Asian continent is little better than historical myth. That there is a tall, blond, dolichocephalous type of man admits of no doubt, but that he has been the sole or the primary producer of gods, heroes and geniuses admits of little credence. In the Scandinavian region where it is found in greatest purity it has shown no capacity for civilization that in any way marks it as a distinctly superior type. That this human variety has played a great rôle in the history of war, of exploration, of adventure, and of statecraft admits of no doubt; but even if one grant the Nordics a certain superiority in fighting quality and the spirit of adventure, he must admit at the same time that most of them are conservative stay-at-homes, that some of them are cowards and turn-coats, and that they thus resemble the rest of mankind in both their good and their bad traits. The fundamental faults with all efforts to write the story of man's adventuring during the last several thousands of years in the terms of

this or that chosen race are the neglect (1) of the fact that all racial differences are differences of degree and not of kind; (2) of the fact that purity of race is only relative and inevitably reduced by every process which enables a race to play a rôle in history; and (3) of that other important fact that every area of considerable civilization has been an area of race amalgamations before, often long before, the outburst of culture occurred.

The matter of range of variation within any and all types is of profound importance. If, as Dixon ventures to think,[106] "The Caspian (which is an approximation to Grant's Nordic) was more a conqueror, the Mediterranean a thinker and artist," it seems certain that each of them and the Alpine as well has been something of both. It must be remembered that there is no area where the ideal form of any of these types is found in unalloyed possession either now or any time in the historical past; indeed it is hardly conceivable that any one of them could have remained long enough in a particular zone of specialization to have become very numerous without the intrusion, by conquest, immigration or wife capture of the blood of other types. Dixon is clearly of the opinion that the so-called Nordic race is a blend of four different types: two of the old Palæolithic peoples which he designates Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid, the Caspian and the Mediterranean. But if they had remained isolated and hence pure they certainly would have made no mark on the history of culture.

By way, then, of a general summary of Grant's famous book one must say first that it contains nothing original. It contains no fresh material. It is a compound of gleanings from the literature of Aryanism, vividly and confidently expressed. Even that primary standard of scholarship which requires that, in matters of such controversy as the historical rôle of races, the exact citation of authorities and sources shall be given is neglected. In the first edition (1916) only a brief bibliography was inserted at the end. As we have seen, he makes the Mediterranean race the superior of all in artistic abilities and the equal, if not the superior of all in intellectual capacities. He attributes to them the civilizations of Egypt, Crete, Phœnicia, Carthage, Etruria and Mycenæan

[106] *Op. cit.*, p. 509.

Greece. He attributes to the Alpine the introduction of various great advances in early European culture which had the effect of lifting the indigenous Nordics along with others from the simple savagery of Palæolithic culture to the highly advanced cultures of bronze and iron, the domestication of animals and the cultivation of grains. On the other hand his Nordics are big fighting men, honest but rather stupid and yet the world's premier stock, the born rulers, leaders and organizers of men without whose genius civilization will inevitably pass into the eclipse of a new dark age!

But not the least significant fact about Grant's vigorous book, itself a merely Anglicized epitome of Gobineau, Chamberlain and Lapouge, is that it must be charged in part with the even more fantastic and irresponsible outpourings of a host of imitators. Grant's prestige and the fact that he wrote at a time of the most intense popular interest in everything touching the problems of national power and the basis of civilization gave his book an enormous vogue. Eight years earlier Alfred P. Schultz had presented the same doctrines in his "Race or Mongrel,"[107] but without creating any general interest. This forgotten book contains a dedication in which he acknowledges "his indebtedness to the works of Comte Arthur de Gobineau, Mr. Houston-Stewart Chamberlain, Dr. Albrecht Wirth, and Dr. Ludwig Woltmann"; and a descriptive subtitle as follows: "A brief history of the rise and fall of the ancient races of the world; a theory that the fall of nations is due to intermarriage with alien stocks; a demonstration that a nation's strength is due to racial purity; a prophecy that America will sink to early decay unless immigration is rigorously restricted." Its story is already told in these pages.

Nor does space permit more than reference to various others of similar type. Listen for a moment to Mr. William S. Sadler, who, in his *Long Heads and Round Heads, or What's the Matter with Germany*[108] sets forth the direful consequences of the infusion of Alpine round-heads among the German people. He says: "This change affords us the real explanation of the unparalleled brutality, the shocking atrocities, and otherwise inex-

[107] Boston, 1908.
[108] Chicago, 1918.

plicably barbarous behavior of the German armies in the present European conflict." This is the reason why "the simple-minded, tender-hearted, home-loving German people that gave us the Christmas tree suddenly became so cruel and brutal"; this plus the fact that most of the "good" Germans, i. e., the tall blonds, migrated to the United States.[109]

It may be worth while to note the assumptions in this theory of German brutality put forth by Grant and repeated by Sadler: there is first, the assumption of some special brutality among the Germans; secondly, that it is due to race and not to historic circumstances; thirdly, always assuming the Germans especially brutal, that under a reversal of circumstances no Allied people would have been the same; fourthly, that it is a new or recent acquisition of the Germans; fifthly, that it is due to the Alpine stock. This fifth assumption itself involves an interesting variety of other assumptions such as the superlative inherent brutality of the Alpines; that their proportions throughout Germany have altered materially during recent generations; and that they were placed in positions of authority in the German armies. The critic, moreover, will not overlook the fact that the Swiss are largely Alpine in racial background while the French, as a whole, have proportionately a larger infusion of Alpine blood than the Germans.

But why bother with proofs when dogmatic authority is more impressive? We can draw upon the historical fancies and turbulent emotions of Professor William Roscoe Thayer—only we must be prepared to overlook the fact that his assumptions are directly contrary to those of Grant and his followers. For him[110] brutality is no new German trait: "Cruelty has been an attribute of the Germans since earliest times. The Goths and Vandals and their kindred barbarians practised it as a matter of course. The Huns—the spiritual ancestors of the Prussians—raised it to such a bad eminence that for fourteen centuries they (who, Prussians or Huns?) stood unchallenged as foremost in cruelty." Thus the distinguished historian, careless of both historical and anthropological facts, bestows upon the Germans the traits of those

[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 48 *et seq.*

[110] *Out of Their Own Mouths,* New York, 1917, "Introduction," p. xvi.

who many centuries ago merely traversed some of their present territory and endows them with the traits of an alien stock acquired by some mysterious process of "spiritual" osmosis. Like the anthropo-sociologists he adopts a racial explanation but fits his premises to his foreordained conclusions. But this entire literature is redundant with similar fallacies and contradictions.

The fundamental fault here is excess of zeal. The truth is not made clearer by loudness and boldness of assertion. Certainly no one to-day can well deny some truth to the racialist contentions. As will be seen in the sequel, the present writer is predisposed to attach very great weight to the hereditary basis of national welfare, when properly interpreted. But it is well to admit that the case as commonly viewed is far from clear. When it is admitted that heredity is an undoubted factor and that the endowments of various stirps of humanity differ, it is still far from certain what is the relative weight of heredity, cultural environment and physiographic situation in determining the traits and achievements of those ethnically complex bodies called nations or national states. It is certainly naïve to think of them in simple racial terms; it is wholly unpermissible to think of their natural traits in subjective terms and then attribute one's own emotional reactions to an unchanging racial potency.

The Nordic refrain is taken up in a most slavish and weakly imitative fashion by one Charles W. Gould in *America, A Family Matter,*" [111] a book unworthy serious attention in itself, but having, as we shall see, a certain historical significance in the cultivation of Nordicism in this country. After perusing the book, and then reading the following advertisement, one realizes the brazen commercialism of highly dignified publishing houses: "A remarkable study of the present racial problems in the United States. It is based on a careful examination of biological principles." But one searches in vain for the evidence of this. There is scarcely one single word in this advertisement that applies to this book, unless one admit that it is remarkable as an exhibition of what can be put out as a serious contribution to a difficult problem. It is not a "study" of anything; it contains no data relating to

[111] New York, 1922.

the "present racial problem in the United States"; nor is there any "examination of biological principles." At the close there are a few pages devoted to dogmatic assertions of a very emotional sort, from which one draws the conclusion that the author is firmly convinced that America has sealed her doom by the admission of recent immigrants. But even these few pages devoted to American race problems contain no evidence, and as regards the aforesaid conviction they are self-contradictory. Take the stirring appeal of the next to the last paragraph: "Americans, the Philistines are upon us. Burst the fetters of our unseemly thraldom. Bar out all intruders. Repeal our naturalization laws. . . . Make strong your hearts against the appeal of humanitarianism." So far one thing; but listen to the next few sentences. "Repel the beguiling approaches of the grasping, who in short-sighted greed would at once rob the children and the children's children of those natural resources which we should guard as their patrimony, worse—far worse—their right to sway and control law and government which is their heritage. Already the plunderers, availing themselves of the importation of cheap labor, without thought of replanting, have recklessly swept away great forests, wantonly careless of provision for those who are to come after them," etc.

This is certainly a dastardly crime. Who could have done such a thing, surely not the noble Anglo-Saxons! No answer is given by the author anywhere, but the verdict of history must be that it was precisely those "pure Nordics," Madison Grant's veritable aristocracy of the Nordic race, who alone have done this thing. It is his own heroes who have recklessly plundered the richest continent of the globe, without thought of those who were to come after them; it is they who have stimulated the importation of cheap labor, etc.

Not only does the book omit all the argument except the conclusion, but it is a perfect example of historical naïveté and racial mysticism. In the early pages (especially pages 22–23) a somewhat fanciful picture is given of the outburst of civilization simultaneously in Persia, Greece and Rome in the year 510 B. C. "About the year 510 B. C. the same White Race in Athens, im-

bued with the same free spirit which in common with the Persians it brought from its northern home, overthrows the tyrants and establishes a democracy, a form of government absolutely new in the history of the world." "In the same year the same race in Rome rises against foreign domination, expels the Tarquins and establishes a republic." Thus Persia, Greece and Rome were all three launched on the great ocean of freedom and justice at the same time by the same White Race—always spelled with capital letters to show proper respect for its divinity. Though widely separated from their kinsfolk and scattered in diverse directions "these people still seem to have retained the rhythm and harmonious forward movement of the great race life." This last phrase alone is sufficient to condemn its author to everlasting disgrace in the world of scholarship. It can scarcely be surpassed in the whole literature of Aryan idealization and idolatry for credulous faith in the mysterious potency of some metaphysical race force and complete childlike innocence of historical processes.

We learn in the next paragraph that Buddha belonged to this same race and at almost exactly the same time, about 530 B. C., "gave a manifestation of the survival of the free spirit of the North" in "a religion of gentleness and love." This again was a manifestation of "the varying but rhythmical pulsation of race life whose throb was that of the life of the united people before they knew parting and division." Thus the high spots in the life of India, Persia, Greece and Rome all have one satisfactory and all-sufficient explanation, and "life throbs" of the great "White Race." Yet "in this explanation there is nothing mystical, nothing strange." [112]

It is most unfortunate for the history of man that this throbbing race soul should have exhausted itself in one mighty throb; where are the effects of all the throbs that preceded this one? This fighting, conquering race should have carried a civilization of "gentleness and love" everywhere. The original home, "before they knew parting and division," must have been the scene of some wonderful throbs of the race soul! But unfortunately the remains are so scanty that this original habitat has been placed by

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

divers advocates in many widely separated places ranging from the Hindu Kush Mountains to the Baltic Basin and from the tundras of Siberia to the Caspian Sea. One must confess that it is a little strange, if not mystifying, that this great race did not produce an almost super-human civilization when it was in its greatest purity, in the home where it sprung full-fledged and equipped with supernal powers, from which it moved out to the ends of the earth in such enormous streams to lay the foundations and even to rear the superstructures of all the great civilizations of recorded time.

Enough has been said to expose the incapacity of the author of this book to deal critically with the great scope of cultural changes which he pretends to survey, and yet one is tempted to another illustration. He assures us [113] that references by historians to racial purity can be taken at their face value for no historian ever wrote history to show the superiority of his race as a race. "It will not be necessary, therefore, for us to be on our guard. The testimony on which we rely is unbiased." We are thus called upon to ignore the race pride of every known group of men from African pigmies to Athenian Greeks; to forget the bias of patriotism which even our author himself exhibits in a most lamentable degree; to disregard the tendency of the unsophisticated in matters anthropological to consider his own race as pure in blood and sprung from a single source. This is to ask us to take the creation myths at their face value. And yet this naïveté is exhibited in a "remarkable" book of the twentieth century. The author should turn to the opening pages of *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy,* [114] where he will find these words: "It is intended to combine with a strict adherence to historical truth, wherever ascertainable, a national point of view—in other words, an avowed regard for the interests and, above all, the honor of Great Britain; and the list of contributors has been confined to historical scholars who are British subjects by birth. Our work has accordingly not shrunk, and will not shrink as it progresses, from seeking to vindicate for British policy that claim

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[114] New York, 1922.

to consistency, etc." Here is a bold avowal of what many innocently assume themselves to avoid, namely, the writing of history for a "purpose." That one whose purpose is so obvious as Mr. Gould's could blandly assume that others wrote a plain tale of fact untarnished by subjective bias is truly incomprehensible.

Such lack of critical skepticism is certain to reveal itself in many ways in handling a question so charged with emotional explosives as the rôle of race in history. One begins to suspect that the author thinks of Americans as pure Anglo-Saxons, for the most part descended from those who came over in the Mayflower. And sure enough this is clearly implied a few pages farther on: "but from the depths a race of purer blood has arisen—a race fashioned like those men of old." Such is America; that is, as we were almost up to the present. The momentous question is whether we will profit by the moral of the story of antiquity. As told and as pointed by the author this story and moral leaves us no hope for the future but that oblivion into which all peoples fall when they lose their pristine purity of blood.

Much more space has been given to Gould's work than its inherent value would warrant but this is for the purpose of pointing the twofold moral that the popular influence of a book often has little relation to its scholarship and secondly that it is increasingly difficult for scholars in one field to keep abreast of best opinion in others. The despair of the sociologist is the ease with which shallow generalizations about history and culture impress even the most brilliant workers in other fields as sound and eminently worthy of credence. As an illustration one will find in the "Foreword" of *A Study of American Intelligence* by Professor Carl C. Brigham [115] the following from the pen of Dr. Robert M. Yerkes: "It appears that Mr. Charles W. Gould, a clear, vigorous, fearless thinker on problems of race characteristics, amalgamation of peoples and immigration, raised perplexing questions which drove Mr. Brigham to his careful and critical reexamination, analysis, and discussion of army data concerning the relations of intelligence to nativity and length of residence

[115] Princeton, 1923.

in the United States. In a recently published book, *America, A Family Matter,* to which this little book is a companion volume, Mr. Gould has pointed the lessons of history for our nation and has argued strongly for pure-bred races." Obviously, Dr. Yerkes, if he read Mr. Gould's book, was more impressed than we were. The deep impression made on Professor Brigham creates a certain presumption against him, but one must not judge in advance of the evidence.

A Study of American Intelligence has an "Introduction," following the above "Foreword"; then comes "Part I" which is an examination of the Army Tests, and "Part II" which is a statistical analysis of the results of the tests. "Conclusions" sums up the matter. The drift of the argument becomes apparent to the experienced reader on the third page of the "Introduction" where he finds such statements as the following: "If the history of the United States could be written in terms of the movements of European peoples to this continent, the first stage represents a Nordic immigration, for New England in Colonial times was populated by a pure Nordic type. There followed then a period of Nordic expansion. The next movement consisted of the migration of Western European Mediterraneans and Alpines from Ireland and Germany (from 1840 to 1890). . . . The third and last great movement consisted of migration of the Alpine Slavs and the Southern European Mediterraneans." Aside from the inexcusable looseness of terms and even the positive error in these descriptions, especially that of Ireland and Germany, one is struck by the words "pure Nordic type," and the repetition of the word Nordic. Since this has become a word to conjure with, one expects to finds its use associated with a rather definite set of ideas, the history of which we have been tracing.

Nevertheless, this book has distinct merits. It succeeds in making a strong case for the contention that the average intelligence of the American people is in great danger of declining in the future as a result of the low intelligence of a very large portion of recent immigrants. In order to reach this goal the author seeks an explanation of the fact brought out by the United States Army mental examinations that the mental scores of the foreign-

born who had been in the country twenty years was distinctly higher than those of recent entrance. In fact, when classified into groups according to length of residence as "fifteen to twenty," "ten to fifteen," "five to ten," and "under five," the author is able to show that there has been a progressive decline in mental ability as shown by the Army figures. He is not, however, able to show that this decline is due entirely to the change in the racial character of immigration from the predominant "Nordic" previous to 1890 to the predominant "Alpine" and "Mediterranean" since 1900. Nor does he pretend to do this. He says: "The decline in intelligence is due to two factors, the change in the races migrating to this country, and to the additional factor of the sending of lower and lower representatives of each race." [116]

It is obvious to the reader of Professor Brigham's work that he makes no attempt to weigh the relative importance of these two factors. It is thus possible to infer that the sole cause may have been the decline in the quality of the immigrants regardless of racial background. There are certain plausible reasons for suspecting that the "sending of lower and lower representatives of each race" is vastly more important in explaining the decline than the changes in racial proportions among the immigrants. There is first, the greatly increased facility of transportation. There is secondly, the special inducements by mining and manufacturing companies seeking cheap and unskilled labor. There is thirdly, the increased familiarity with immigration methods and conditions due to (1) the letters of early immigrants from different localities and stories of returned immigrants and (2) advertisements of steamship and manufacturing agencies. There is fourthly, the organization of various immigrant aid societies to protect newcomers from dangers and exploitation, and to find homes and jobs for them. All these conditions have made it possible for the timorous, feeble-minded, diseased, halt and even insane to come from all parts of Europe in perfect safety.

But Professor Brigham shows an anxiety to support the theses of Madison Grant and his friend Gould. Consequently he has entered into an elaborate and artificial analysis of the racial elements

[116] Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 178: see also pp. 181, 197.

of recent immigrants. "In collaboration with students of this subject, I have constructed Table 33 which contains tentative estimates of the present blood constitution of the countries sending immigrants to this country." He adds, "This table is, of course, only an approximation to the truth, and many persons will disagree with the estimates," [117] One wonders who these "students of this subject" were, for it is safe to say that every informed person will disagree with the estimates given, and for at least three reasons. In the first place, there must be serious objections to the assumption that the various racial elements which have been intermingling in European countries for many thousands of years can now be parcelled out into their approximate proportions.[118] We know almost nothing regarding the biological laws of the inheritance by hybrids of the distinguishing traits of the original or underlying races. Even the extent of dominance or recession of head-form or eye-color is obscure. How then can one assume that some ill-defined mental traits will be passed down through multiple crosses over a thousand years in proportions equal to the percentages of round heads or blue eyes among the original constituent elements? The percentages of the elements is unknown as an historical fact; it is only roughly known for limited areas as a present fact. Furthermore, we do not know that mental traits and head index or eye shade are linked together in inheritance, so that Nordic brains may look out through Alpine eyes and vice versa.

Thus England is put down as 80 per cent Nordic and 20 per cent Mediterranean; Scotland, Holland, Norway and Denmark as 85 per cent Nordic and 15 per cent Mediterranean; Germany as 40 per cent Nordic and 60 per cent Alpine; Sweden as 100 per cent Nordic; and Ireland, which, as we have seen, Sir Arthur Keith finds is more nearly pure Nordic in composition than any other principal division of the British Isles, is put down as 30 per cent Nordic and 70 per cent Mediterranean. Evidently Brigham does not like the Irish. All this acquires a somewhat humorous aspect when one finds the author a few pages farther on quot-

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[118] See Chamberlain's condemnation of this assumption, p. 81 *supra.*

ing Madison Grant to this effect: "The pure Nordic peoples are characterized by a greater stability and steadiness than are the mixed peoples such as the Irish." [119]

Sufficient data have been presented in these pages to show the "tendenz" in these figures. The countries that have systems of popular education are heavily endowed by Professor Brigham with Nordics. But the point is of sufficient importance to warrant further evidence. Take, for example, England. It should be understood at the outset that the anthropological constitution of the British population is known only in a superficial way. Dixon says: [120] "The data on the living population of the British Isles are less complete than for many other parts of Europe. For stature and pigmentation they are fairly adequate, but head-form and other metrical data are sadly lacking. For the larger portion of the British Isles we have nothing but county averages, based on small numbers of individuals." If we should speak with strict accuracy and define the Nordic stock as tall, blue-eyed, blond-haired and long-headed, then it is doubtful whether it ever approached one-half the total English stock. Dixon speaks of the Anglo-Saxons as "primarily" dolichocephalous; [121] the pre-Roman population was overwhelmingly Mediterranean with a small infusion of Alpines. And still farther back were the Palæolithic and Neolithic peoples who doubtless persist down to the present in greater or less numbers and more or less modified by evolutionary processes. We shall note that Parsons' detailed study [122] of pigmentation in the British Isles showed almost no area where the combination of dark eyes and hair was less frequent than 25 per cent of the population, while fair hair seldom reached 20 per cent, and the combination of fair hair and eyes even less. If the population of England is 80 per cent Nordic then the Nordics include a very wide range of color variation extending from blond to at least semi-brunet.

Scotland is listed as even more Nordic than England. Now the

[119] *Op. cit.*, p. 182.
[120] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[122] See p. 277 *infra*.

Scotch population is, if anything, more mixed than the English. A survey of 501,552 boys and girls [123] showed the following percentages for hair color: fair, 26.1; red, 5.13; medium, 42.1; dark, 25.2; black, 1.2. And for eye color: blue, 14.7; light, 30.3; medium, 32.3; dark, 22.5 If there is only a 15 per cent Mediterranean ingredient among the Scotch and all the rest is Nordic, then the great frequency of medium to dark complexion traits indicates an unbelievable hereditary potency of Mediterranean elements. Scotland is remarkable for its groups of very tall brunets in Ayr and Kirkendbright, who are neighbors of the short deeply pigmented brunets in Inverness and Argyle. It is equally remarkable for the opposite types: the short blonds of Caithness and the tall blonds of Berwick and Haddington. As Ripley says: "The physical traits seem to cross one another at right angles." [124] Finally one may mention Sir W. Turner's discovery [125] that, on the eastern coast in County Fife in a prevailing blond population, brachycephalic head-forms are overwhelmingly preponderant.

One might take the other countries in similar fashion and show that Brigham's percentages are merely wild guesses at the unknown. But there is a third reason for rejecting his method and an even more convincing one. We may again take the British Isles for illustration. It is well known that the cephalic index for the various counties of the British Isles is remarkably uniform, varying little from 77 or 78 when the counties are taken as wholes, the range being from 76 in the Scotch Highlands to just over 80 in West Ireland. Though based on scanty data this fact has been interpreted as indicating a very great homogeneity of the population and might well serve as the basis for the notion that long heads, presumably derived from Anglo-Saxon or Nordic ancestry were almost universal. This appearance of uniformity in head-form, however, has now been shown to be wholly illusory

[123] John Gray, "Memoir on the Pigmentation Survey of Scotand," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 37, 1907, pp. 75 *et seq.*

[124] *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

[125] "A Contribution to the Craniology of the People of Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Society*, Edinburgh, vol. 40, 1903, pp. 457–613.

by the work of Fleure and James and Fleming.[126] They not only emphasize the fact that the cephalic index in Britain ranges from 68 to 86 but have shown that within relatively small areas where average results might differ little or not at all from those of the country at large, there is a very wide variation of individual types. Their results point to a remarkable persistence of ancient racial norms, for they find repeatedly in small areas such a variety as pre-Neolithic types, Neolithic brunet dolichocephalic Mediterraneans, Bronze-Age brachycephals, and blond dolichocephals of Nordic descent. As Fleure says elsewhere,[127] "There is no doubt that in every part of England and Wales several types live side by side. Often certain types are found only as rare exceptions, occurring in perhaps 1 per cent of the population or less, but there are usually places where these, generally rarer, types occur in considerable numbers, perhaps making 20 or 30 per cent of a sample."

How then can one know what have been the racial ingredients of British immigrants to America unless he knows first: from just what parts of England, Scotland or Ireland, as the case may be, they came; and, secondly, which of the various types found in every locality contributed to the migration and in what proportions? There are no data which would enable one to make even a reasonable guess in answer to the second of these queries.

In any case, the author, having gone through this elaborate gesture of dividing up nationalities in racial percentages, then applies these same percentages to the immigration from different nations and thus shows the decline in the percentage of Nordic blood. Since the army tests showed that there had been a decline in the intellectual level of immigrants during the two past decades, he assumes that this decline is due in part to the decline of Nordic proportions. This is an obvious *non sequitur*. There seems to be no doubt about the decline in the intelligence of im-

[126] H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, "Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 46, 1916, pp. 35–154; and R. M. Fleming, "Sex and Growth Features in Racial Analysis," *Man*, vol. 12, June, 1922.

[127] *The Races of England and Wales*, London, 1923, pp. 97–8.

migrants. That is shown not only in the army tests but in many others.[128] Nor can there be any doubt that there has been a decline in the proportion of north Europeans among our immigrants. The elaborate make-belief of Professor Brigham adds nothing to these facts. Nor do the ten pages of quotation from Madison Grant, Vacher de Lapouge, William McDougall and others regarding special racial aptitudes prove anything beyond the prepossession of the author for the Nordic folk-lore, his contempt for the Jews, and his belief in the degeneracy of the Irish. Since the present writer has no Irish ancestry so far as known to him, the reader will doubtless pardon this last exquisite example of Grantesque science which Professor Brigham quotes in order to characterize the Irish people: "In spite of the fact that Paleoliths have not been found there, some indications of Paleolithic man appear in Ireland, both as single characters and as individuals." So much for the facts; now for the conclusion: "The cross between these elements and the Nordics appears to be a bad one, and the mental and cultural traits of the aborigines have proved to be exceedingly persistent and appear especially in the unstable temperament and the lack of coördinating and reasoning power, so often found among the Irish." Certainly the capacity to draw large deductions from slight "indications" evidences the Nordic gift of fancy. But what shall we say when we note that Grant apparently means his characterization as above to apply to the Irish of the west and southwest, while Brigham lets it stand as in itself a sufficient statement of the racial aptitudes of the Irish people *as a whole*.

It need hardly be said that the author leaps another great chasm when he assumes that this study of American immigrants gives a measure of the intelligence rating of different European nationalities. He seems much surprised that he should find the Alpines superior to the Mediterraneans when the great masters

[128] See particularly Kimball Young, "Mental Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups," *University of Oregon Publications*, July, 1922, for a summary of findings; a number of subsequent studies reach the same conclusion that recent immigrant groups are inferior in mental capacity to the native population.

have uniformly declared, one in echo and imitation of the other, that the Mediterraneans are superior intellectually to the Alpines. He fails to note that Grant implies their superiority even to the Nordics. But "this apparent contradiction . . . has a very obvious solution, viz., that those who draw their conclusions from historical data are studying the Mediterranean race as it was at the period of its greatest development, with a Nordic domination, while our data sample this race group as it is at the present time." [129] This is both gratuitous and illogical. His own assumption that the quality of recent immigration has declined through the coming of lower and lower elements of the populations represented, should have prevented Professor Brigham from assuming that recent Italian immigrants were a true sample of the Italian people, or of the Mediterranean elements among them. The superior showing of the Slavs could be adequately explained by the fact that their greater difficulties in migrating have brought us a higher grade of samples than we have received from Italy. Finally, in view of the fact that the extent of contact with American culture would have some effect on the relative standing of the nationality groups in meeting the tests, one ought to know whether Slavs have suffered a greater isolation as a whole from such contacts than have the Italians.

In concluding the examination of Brigham's work, it will be well to note clearly what seems to have been proved and what has not. We accept the finding of the army examiners that recent immigrants show less of the abilities tested by their tests than older immigrants. Moreover, we think this finding of permanent value and great social significance. It is no doubt true that there is some correspondence between the extent of popular education among the various nationalities represented and their ratings in the tests. But this does not warrant the assumption, which certain educationalists have made, that education determined the ratings in this case. Nor does it prevent us from drawing the conclusion that an actual decline in inherent ability among immigrants has occurred. Selection of lower levels of European nationalities explains this decline. We do not see that Professor Brigham has

[129] Brigham, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

added anything to our knowledge by his elaborate analysis. He restates the problem raised by the army investigators but adds to the confusion of ideas by a fanciful effort to find the solution in the changed proportions of Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean blood. The evil of lumping whole nations together as Brigham does the Irish, the Germans and the east European countries will appear as sufficiently ludicrous to all persons familiar with the racial history of Europe. Moreover, our prognosis that American intelligence is declining and will continue to decline through the amalgamation of inferior elements rests on no racial hypothesis. It is, indeed, more than probable that the main factor in such decline at present is the higher fertility of the less able elements of the Old American and earlier immigrant stocks as compared with the more able. The high fertility of recent immigrants will accelerate this decline in the generations immediately before us.

Another contribution to this subject, written from the same point of view as the foregoing, is Clinton Stoddard Burr's *America's Race Heritage*.[130] This requires only brief treatment. The subtitle reads as follows: "An account of the diffusion of ancestral stocks in the United States during three centuries of national expansion and a discussion of its significance." The book is an effort to determine the racial composition of the United States in 1920 on the assumption that there is an approximate identity of race and nationality of origin. The demonstration is rather difficult to follow because a large part of the calculation and reasoning are tucked away in some 200 notes at the back of the book. The method seems about as follows. A survey is first made of the original settlers, who are put down as Anglo-Saxons or Nordics. Then comes a study of "the old immigrant stock," most of which is likewise Nordic. Calculations are made of the probable additions from these elements by natural increase, and finally an estimate of the racial composition of "the new immigrant stock." Then by combining the figures according to nationality of origin the remarkable conclusion is reached that we had in 1920, in the United States 81,000,000 Nordics, 4,000,000 Mediterraneans, 5,000,000 Alpines, and something over

[130] New York, 1922.

3,000,000 Semites. In spite of much show of statistical exactness the author at no place tells us how he combines the various elements, but leaves us to infer from his statements that he has grouped all the English, Scotch, Irish, German, Scandinavian, Welsh and Dutch as Nordic; here he includes also "the majority of our French, and, to a lesser extent, our French-Canadian immigrants." [131] If one is not to define terms and is to be permitted to lump incommensurables together in this indiscriminate fashion one must say that the author has not made the most of his opportunities. He should have shown that we were still 99 per cent pure Nordics, of whom not less than nine-tenths were of the purest blue-eyed, light-haired, long-headed and superbly tall Anglo-Saxons, instead of finding only 86 per cent Nordics and these containing a mixture ranging all the way from Swedes to Welsh.

But this exceeding looseness on the part of Mr. Burr weakens our confidence in his reiteration of the doctrine so dear to the racial purists that mongrelization accounts for the decline of ancient civilizations.[132] "Practically all hybrids in plant life are worthless. Biology has proved the baneful effects of mixed race in the human species. Many a warped brain that menaces the world politics in our modern day may be attributed to the mongrel blood in the individual." [133] Here the author neglects the great values achieved in the production of domestic plants and animals through hybridization. Apparently our author forgets also the simple fact that feeble-mindedness and insanity are not peculiar to any one race or people and that two feeble-minded parents are nearly certain to have only feeble-minded offspring. "Warped brains" come from bad stock, whether the parents be white or black or one of each; and a race of Teutonic Zeros or Nordic Jukes can supply an unending stream of them. But this neglect of the individual variations within every racial group is the fundamental as also the most characteristic fault in the reasoning of the racial purists. The author would have been more realistic and hence more scientific, even though less consistent had he taken

[131] Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

to heart his own observation that the blood of every nation is so inextricably mixed that "the mixture of nationalities can never be unraveled." [134]

An amusingly atrocious example of the complete subordination of intelligence to Nordic racial idolatry is found in a unique book by H. J. Eckenrode, *Jefferson Davis—President of the South*.[135] Chapter two of this work, entitled "The Tropic Nordics," is devoted to a development of the thesis that the South was ruled by the purest example still extant of the Nordic stock. He first issues a general warning to his readers that "We are the slaves of phrases. More than that, we are the helots of moral ideas, before which we bow down and burn incense. Perhaps we do not care to know that we are worshipping images, not realities. But we are." [136] He then proceeds to set up his gilded images, bow down before them and burn huge quantities of incense in their praise. The Southern planters, men of purest Anglo-Saxon blood, the "super-type of early America," in whom the superb qualities of the Nordics were ideally manifested, though they for a brief time succumbed to the delusive fervor for democracy during the days of the Revolution and shortly thereafter, gradually recovered their balance and saw themselves in their true rôle as the natural aristocracy of the Republic. In the warm sun of the South they lost some of their racial traits but retained the essential ones of "pluck, resourcefulness, initiative";[137] "personal courage, masterfulness, reckless generosity." [138] The New England Nordics were sane, scholarly, altruistic. The tropicized Nordics of the South "were, in fact, partly mad, because they were Nordics baked in the sun, but it was a wonderful madness and better, in some ways, than sanity." [139] The anthropologist and biologist should take note of this as a remarkable instance of the change in racial traits through the subtle effects of sunlight, and

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[135] New York, 1923.
[136] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

within a very few generations. Then came the Civil War with the tragic failure of Jefferson Davis to lead his people to success.

In the final chapter the author draws "The Moral." The Civil War was nothing less than the last great effort of the Nordic race to save itself; having lost, it has moved steadily toward nothingness. "The victory of the North meant the predominance of the non-Nordic elements in American life." [140] "The chief result of the Civil War was the ruin it brought to the Nordic race in America." The decline of Spain and the imminent collapse of Europe are explained in a sentence, as is also the former pre-eminence of the United States, in a manner strikingly reminiscent of Madison Grant; and then follows the real Jeremiad over the collapse of political institutions in this country. The Nordics were a race pre-eminent "in war, law, politics, exploration, adventure," but with their gradual inundation in this country by a mass of non-Nordics we have steadily grown "weaker politically." Temporarily, however, we are blessed by the existence and power of the Republican Party, "the bulwark of Nordic rule in America," which "represents the control of the Nordic breed." [141] But revolution is coming. "The non-Nordics must go on prevailing to the end" and that means the triumph of some form of communism suited to races of men who lack the instinct to rule and the genius for leadership. So Jefferson Davis failed; "and with him faded the last hope of the Nordic race." [142] Such works carry their own condemnation to the minds of those likely to read these lines, but they are not without some social significance. The number of them that have found publishers during the last decade is considerable. They constitute an esoteric body of learning for various inner circles of the Nordic elect who find in them an unctuous balm for feelings injured by the rise of alien elements in the American population.

We come then to the last work with which we wish to deal extensively in this history and critique of the Nordic doctrine, namely,

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 361.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 364.
[142] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

William McDougall's *Is America Safe for Democracy?*[143] In the "Foreword" he tells us[144] that his purpose is to prove "that the social stratification which exists in modern industrial communities is positively correlated with a corresponding stratification of innate moral and intellectual quality, or in less technical language, that the upper social strata, as compared with the lower, contain a larger proportion of persons of superior natural endowments." This is a purely eugenic thesis, well sustained with cumulative evidence since the early days of Sir Francis Galton, doubtless true and of the greatest importance for political, economic, ethical, anthropological and sociological theories. Much the same, but with less assurance, can be said of the theory advanced in the early pages[145] that the decline of civilization is due to the increasing inadequacy of the population; and that such inadequacy arises in two ways: 1) the increasing complexity of civilization makes ever greater demands upon human strength, vigor, wisdom and control, or as Stoddard would say, structural overloading; and 2) the progressive impairment of the hereditary qualities of a people due to civilization itself.

We agree also with his denunciation of race prejudice and the biases which have surrounded "the myth of the Aryan race" and the vulgar errors of the "race-theorizers."[146] No one will take exception to his unwillingness to share the partisanship of either the "race-dogmatists" or the "race-slumpers" against both of whom he utters some very cogent criticisms. Moreover, Professor McDougall has shown very clearly the overlapping nature of the statistical distribution of a trait or quality in a comparison of races or classes.

But the argument soon becomes more subtle and rises from a fairly convincing, well-controlled and factual discussion of the differences of classes mentioned in the "Foreword" to an unconvincing, and imaginative discussion of the superiority of the Nordic race in a virtuoso manner that easily rivals the climaxes of the

[143] New York, 1920.
[144] *Op. cit.*, p. vii.
[145] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 *et seq.*
[146] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–24.

great masters. Thus on the basis of tests given by Mr. K. T. Waugh to students in four colleges in Lucknow, one in China and several in America, he concludes that the Hindu students fell short of the Americans and the Chinese in "concentration of attention." He then argues that concentration of attention is essentially will-power. The Indians, therefore, are deficient in this important quality. This brings us to the grand *saltus Nordicorum.* It is because the Indians are deficient in will-power that 300,000,000 of them have been ruled for a century and a half by a handful of Englishmen. Had the Indians been superior in concentration of attention as tested by Mr. Waugh "then, not improbably, a few Indians would at the present time be ruling over and administering the affairs of all Europe, and perhaps of America. It is a strange reflection. It is not utterly fantastic and absurd." [147]

One hardly knows whether to take this argument seriously or not, but on account of the distinction of the author we may so take it. If, then, one examine the table from which this explanation of British domination in India is drawn, he observes that there is no study of Englishmen in it. It is assumed that the testing of a few students scattered among several American colleges gives one a basis for deducing English character. The racial inheritance of these students is not mentioned. We do not know whether they were of English ancestry. Nor have we any basis for knowing, even assuming them to be of English descent, that they were so typical that they would actually represent the British people, or, at least, the ruling part of it. We next note that the Chinese had the same score as the Americans. From this we might deduce that the Chinese equal the English in will-power and, therefore, in the capacity to rule subject peoples. One can only wonder why the Chinese have been trodden under foot by English, Americans, Japanese, French and Germans in recent times.

One notes further from McDougall's table [148] that the Hindu students actually excelled in association-time, deferred memory, and range of imagination. They excelled in these three out of the six tests given and in one, association-time, were as much superior

[147] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

as they had been inferior in concentration of attention. But they were even more deficient in speed of learning than in "will-power," and yet excelled in range of information and especially in association-time.

It must be obvious that McDougall has here interpreted an important and highly complex politico-economic situation in very narrow terms. Tests for concentration of attention are certainly not highly perfected. One may also profitably recall the principle advanced by Boas that the closeness of attention given by peoples of different cultural backgrounds is largely determined by the closeness of correlation between the matter at hand and those matters which have previously aroused great interest. Finally, one might say that the Hindu mystics have often given almost unexampled exhibitions of will-power, while Mahatma Gandhi has given the greatest manifestation of sheer will-power of any personage of our generation and succeeded in erecting Hindu will-power into a political force of truly majestic proportions. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that political and social subordination plus economic hardships cultivates a psychology of servitude.

This argument against McDougall's view is not to be taken as a contention that the Indians are like Englishmen, or equal to them. It should be construed as rejecting only the presumptious bombast of drawing far-reaching historical interpretations from so slender a basis.

Boldness of generalization and the free play of constructive imagination are essential factors in scientific advance, and one will admit that timorousness is not a prominent part of Professor McDougall's nature. He straightway plunges into an effort to extend the racial interpretation to the troublesome fields of morals and æsthetics. Following A. Gehring, *Racial Contrasts,* he finds the art of northern Europe is romantic as over against the classic qualities of the art of southern Europe. No doubt McDougall finds the matter a bit difficult, but he has a thesis and proceeds to demonstrate it. The southern art has qualities of "clearness, formality, circumspection, simplicity, directness of appeal to the senses, elegance, symmetry, etc." The romantic northern art has

the opposite qualities of "profusion of characters, of qualities, situations . . . ; complexity of relations . . . ; indirectness of appeal, relying on suggestion of wealth of imagery and vague meaning . . . ; the suggestion of mystery, etc." [149] These differences the reader is expected to note by contrasting in a moment's reflection northern and southern architecture, painting, music, drama and poetry. That climate is no explanation is shown by the fact that "when a predominantly Nordic people, such as the English, transfers itself (from its natural foggy atmosphere) to another climate, to New England, where it enjoys an altitude and a brilliant climate comparable to those of southern Europe, it continues in its art to exhibit the same qualities." [150] New Englanders will doubtless revise their judgment of Italian winters, while the student of culture will note that there is here no hint that art is in any way connected with dominant cultural modes.

What, then, is back of this difference between classical and romantic art? The answer is found in the statement by Walter Pater that, "It is the addition of strangeness to beauty that constitutes the romantic character in art; and the desire of beauty being a fixed element in every artistic organization, it is the addition of *curiosity* to this desire of beauty that constitutes the romantic temper." [151]

The cogency of the argument is now clear. Having posited that northern art is romantic and having found by definition that curiosity is the distinguishing feature of romantic art, the author triumphantly draws the conclusion that the Nordics are especially gifted with curiosity. He then posits that curiosity is innate, "a true primitive instinct." By this process he has proved two important propositions: first, that the Nordics possess unique quantities of curiosity, and secondly, that the characteristics of a people's art can be explained by inherent racial traits. This is a facile kind of argument. It has lumped all the phases of the art of both north and south together into two homogeneous wholes; has made no reference to cultural ups and downs nor to the relation of art to

[149] *Ibid.*, pp. 73–4.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.

culture in general. One can easily imagine another author by a judicious selection of examples calling southern art romantic and by the same use of Pater's definition reversing McDougall's conclusion.

But, as the veteran reader of racial literature would have anticipated, McDougall makes this reversal himself, and on the very next page. Here the argument has to do with philosophy and science. Now, "curiosity or wonder may be called the mother of philosophy and of science."[152] One might suppose this laid the basis for the conclusion that philosophy and science were the well-nigh exclusive possessions of north Europe. Not at all. The Greeks were the founders of both realms of speculation and investigation, but this was due to their Nordic ingredient. What has become then of the classical art of the previous pages? Or did the Nordics produce the science and philosophy and leave the art to the Mediterraneans? Moreover, one wonders how McDougall would explain the development of science among the Moderns during the Middle Ages when the Nordics were piously repeating the age-old formulas of mystic rituals.

We come then to another aspect of McDougall's argument. He finds that the Nordics differ from the Mediterraneans in exhibiting more introversion. "The Mediterranean race is constitutionally extrovert, the Nordic race constitutionally introvert." The extroverts "are the vivid, vivacious, active persons; . . . little given to introspective brooding; . . . relatively ignorant of themselves; . . . essentially objective, they are interested directly and primarily in the outer world about them." "The introvert, on the other hand, is slow and reserved in the expression of his emotions. He has difficulty in adequately expressing himself. His nervous and mental energies, instead of flowing out freely to meet and play upon the outer world, seem apt to turn inward, determining him to brooding, reflection, deliberation before action."[153] Though these traits are determined by hereditary constitution he finds that "within the same family you may see well-marked examples of both types." He would not, therefore, deny that both types will

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

be found in every community. He assumes here only that moderate or even slight differences in hereditary constitution may produce striking differences in social behavior. This last appears to be a sound proposition and, since McDougall presumes to speak only in terms of probability and hypothesis, his argument is worthy a fair hearing. One may observe in advance, however, that, even though slight hereditary differences may produce profound social effects, it is questionable 1) whether a convincing proof could be worked out by merely general observation in which prejudice and predilection are nearly certain to play a considerable part, and 2) whether such broadly variable and loosely described traits as introversion and extroversion constitute suitable material for a test case.

What then is McDougall's argument? It is claimed that the Nordics, being introspective and inclined to melancholia, are peculiarly prone to drunkenness, suicide, divorce and Protestantism.[154] This is an old contention dating from Penka, Bertillon and Morselli in the early eighties. It was thoroughly discussed and rejected by Ripley and others, but McDougall thinks "it is necessary to be something of a psychologist, perhaps, if one is to appreciate the evidence."[155] As factual basis for his argument McDougall presents two maps of France, one showing the percentage of brunets as by departments and the other the rates of suicide, and then extends the discussion to all Europe on the basis of the following table drawn from Morselli:[156]

Annual Suicides per Million Population

Denmark—268	Wales—52
Scandinavia—127	Ireland—10
N. Germany—150	Spain—17
S. Germany—165	Russia—30
England—72	N. Italy—46
S. Australia—90	S. Italy—26

[154] *Ibid.*, pp. 90–102.
[155] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[156] *Suicide*, New York, 1882.

It is an old adage among social statisticians that a judicious selection of data often helps powerfully in proving a contention. But before we call attention to more recent data and the absence from this table of various important states, one may note some interesting contrasts. In the first place, the difference between Denmark and Scandinavia calls for explanation. Why should Germany be so much higher than Scandinavia; or South Germany higher than north; or Anglo-Saxon England, Grant's home of the very aristocracy of the Nordics, so much below south Germany which is overwhelmingly Alpine. But one can hardly declare the Alpines prone to suicide, for there is Russia with a rate near the bottom. Then there is Ireland, as always an anomaly, with the lowest of all rates, but with a large Nordic ingredient—also Catholic and not notable for divorces but making a good showing in the statistics for drunkenness.

Let us now add more countries and a more general survey. From Mayo-Smith [157] we glean the following:

Annual Suicides per Million Population
Averages for 1887 to 1891

Saxony—340	Austria—159	Norway—66
Denmark—253	Belgium—122	Holland—58
France—218	Sweden—119	Scotland—56
Switzerland—216	Bavaria—118	Italy—52
Prussia—197	England—80	Ireland—24

The United States (1881–85)

Connecticut	103	Massachusetts	91	Vermont	87
		Rhode Island	82		

We are now able to separate Norway from Sweden and contrast both with Denmark. As these countries are the most purely Nordic in the world one must be struck with the contrast. France, which, as we shall see in a few moments, McDougall regards as sharply contrasted with England in the psychic qualities under

[157] *Statistics and Sociology*, New York, 1895, p. 241.

discussion, now ranks near the top, followed by Switzerland, Prussia and old Austria,[158] all predominantly Alpine in racial composition. The tall, blond, long-headed Swedes are no more prone to self-destruction than the relatively short, brunet and round-headed Bavarians, while the latter contrast sharply with the English and Norwegians, but in a direction opposite to that which McDougall's arguments would lead one to expect. Hollanders, who are a mixed population, but with a very large Nordic element, are only half as self-destructive as their immediate neighbors, the Belgians, among whom the brachycephalic elements predominate.

If one were to omit from this table the single country of Denmark, he could make out a very strong case for the suicidal propensities of the round-headed Alpines. This case would be strengthened by noting that Morselli found that Norway was the only country having a decrease in its suicide rate from 1800 to 1880, and that the English rate remained nearly stationary, while the Prussian rate doubled and the French rate trebled. The case might be strengthened somewhat more by noting that the Kingdom of Saxony, which throughout the century persistently held the record for the highest rate with an average, 1862 to 1886, of 322 per million inhabitants, "exhibits one of the lowest mean statures in Germany" and "appears to be a sub-brachycephalic area."[159] Then there are the neighboring states of Baden and Württemberg, which are distinctly Alpine in predominant anthropological traits, but showed annual suicide rates of 198 (1878–1882) and 189 (1877–1881) respectively. Finally, the case for special Alpine propensity for self-destruction might be still further strengthened by noting as does Ripley[160] that northern Italy with its large Alpine population is distinctly more given to suicide than southern Italy which is distinctly Mediterranean.

With these additional data before him the student will scarcely hesitate to say that the contention that the Nordics are strongly introverted as shown by their propensity to suicide is far from

[158] See Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 228, and Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 110.
[159] Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 528, and Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 170.
[160] *Op. cit.*, p. 527.

established. The great French sociologist, Émile Durkheim, after the most thorough analysis [161] of suicide statistics that has been made since Morselli, concluded that the high suicide rates are closely correlated with the development of urbanism, industrialism and other cultural factors.[162] One must say for the present that, if there be a racial difference in regard to suicidal tendencies, no investigation has yet been sufficiently refined to detect it with clarity. One cannot be certain that there is nothing in the introvert theory. It doubtless has a certain facile plausibility. But McDougall reveals himself the imaginative romancer rather than the careful scientist by his argument. He has not been at pains first to give definite proof that introverts are more numerous among Nordics than among Alpines or Mediterraneans. He does not even presume to prove that introversion is an hereditary trait passed on from generation to generation according to Mendelian ratios. One may even say, in fact, that he has not proved that it is the introverts who commit suicide. His own argument is quite confusing, for, as we shall see in his next contention, he makes the introverts the world's great explorers, adventurers and colonizers. One would have thought they would be poets, monks and impractical idealists.

We have noted that McDougall bases his argument largely on Ripley's map of the distribution of complexion traits in France. If one assumes this map to be fully accurate, he must remember that it refers to complexion traits only. Now we have repeatedly noted the tendency of blond traits and round heads to prevail in a mixture of Nordics and Alpines. If introversion is an inherent character it is more likely linked with head-form than with eye-color or hair-color. In a mixed population such as is found all through western Europe blondness might be inherited from one

[161] *Le Suicide,* Paris, 1897. There will be found in this work a complete refutation of the ethnic argument and a very suggestive appraisal of psycho-social factors in suicide.

[162] A study of the suicide data for ten Middle Atlantic States, 1910–1923, shows a negative correlation of -0.50 ± 0.06 between business prosperity and number of suicides, with a lag of three months. *Statistical Bulletin,* Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Dec., 1924, and May, 1925.

line and round-headedness, that is, little or no tendency to introversion (according to McDougall) from the other. What importance could then be attached to maps showing an association of blondness and introversion or suicidal propensity. From the data above presented by us one might infer that the higher suicide rates in blond areas was due to the infusion of Alpines whose round heads, coupled with light hair and eyes, carried a fatal propensity toward self-destruction. But if one is to argue the matter by means of maps he would do well to compare the rates of suicides with the extent of urbanization, industrialization and other social conditions. Moreover, there is an element of suggestion and imitation in suicide. One would have to determine to what extent suicide is a culture trait with areas of distribution like clay pipes and bowler hats. This matter is enormously more complex than McDougall's simplistic discussion assumes.

Perhaps one may be permitted to add one further reflection. McDougall also associates drunkenness with the introverted Nordic. This appears plausible because one may assume that alcohol provides an effective and welcome release from an oppressive self-consciousness and its associated introversion. The sombre Nordic thus achieves at least a temporary release of inhibited emotions. But if, nevertheless, the Nordic commits suicide at a tremendous rate one is appalled to think what an enormous amount of self-destruction there would be in northern countries if such alcoholic release were not available as a ready recourse for brooding introverts. But here again international comparisons are troublesome when one recalls Irish whiskey, Scotch gin and Russian vodka.

We pass over the alleged hereditary propensity of the Nordics to divorce and to Protestantism. McDougall presents a less extended and less convincing case for these tendencies than for suicide. Moreover, these allegations were extensively discussed a generation ago and rejected after careful analysis by painstaking anthropologists and social statisticians.[163] Since then the pro-

[163] See Ripley, *op. cit.*, Chap., XIX, pp. 513–36; Canon Isaac Taylor in his *The Origins of the Aryans*, pp. 247–9, gave currency in the English-speaking world to the notion that long-heads are Protestant and round-heads Catholic by "affinity." We have already noted that Chamberlain

portion of Nordics has diminished in western Europe and America but divorce has grown with accelerating speed. We come then to the author's contrast of the French and British. The argument throughout is extremely loose but it seems a fair statement of McDougall's position to say that the following constitutes its basis. In connection with his discussion of the alleged introversion of the Nordic, he had also laid it down that the Nordic is "strong in the instinct of curiosity, the root of wonder"; but the Mediterranean is "weak in curiosity, strong in sociability." [164] He also advances the principle that "a large difference in the destinies of two peoples" may be "determined by a small difference in anthropological constitution." [165]

This principle is itself but a corollary of what he calls "the law of the adaptation of the culture-species," which he develops in the following manner:

"The innate mental qualities of any stably organized people or nation are revealed more clearly in the national character and in the national institutions than in the characters of individuals. For the character of each individual is very greatly moulded by the national institutions and traditions among which he grows up; to such an extent, in fact, that his native disposition may seem to be swamped, overlaid, and totally obscured by the tendencies acquired through training, imitation, and social pressure of all sorts. But the culture of each of the modern nations has been slowly built up, partly by original invention, but more largely by absorption of elements imitated from other nations. Of the family of nations, each contributes something to a common stock of culture derived by tradition from the past; from this common stock each nation selects what best suits its people; and, having adopted such an element, modifies it to suit its own nature more exactly. Thus the culture, the sum of the traditions and institutions, of each nation, grows in an environment which exerts constantly a selective and moulding influence upon it; just as, according to the Darwinian theory, the

later reduced all physical anthropology to a basis of "spiritual affinity." It is a very convincing kind of argument for certain minds, though there are few who can use it without falling into hopeless self-contradiction.

[164] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–10.

various species of animals have become slowly differentiated and evolved by the selective and moulding action of their environments. In the case of the national culture-species, the environment which thus selects and moulds the enduring elements is the sum of the native qualities of the people. I would call this *the law of the adaptation of the culture-species*. . . . From the operation of this law it results that each nation which has enjoyed a long period of development, without serious interruption, has acquired traditions and institutions that are in harmony with its predominant native qualities. Therefore, in the development of each member of such a nation, nature and nurture work harmoniously together. Just for this reason it is so difficult to distinguish, in any one member of such a nation, the influence of his native disposition from that of the culture by which his development has been moulded.

This law is of little significance in relation to such peculiarities as the frequency of suicide and divorce. But it is of great importance in relation to all things regulated by legislation and by established custom and tradition, such things as religion and social organization, the form of the family, the village community, land-tenure, political and educational institutions.

Bearing this law in mind, let us examine what appears to be a particularly instructive instance of a large difference in the destinies of two peoples, determined by a small difference of anthropologic constitution."

This will be recognized as a fairly satisfactory statement of the logic involved in the assumption that specific racial differences lead to specific cultural differences, or that each race by virtue of its inherent qualities will develop a special and peculiar type of culture. This position has been severely criticized in the works of W. B. Babington,[166] John Oakesmith,[167] Franz Boas [168] and others. Nevertheless, it contains considerable theoretical soundness, unless one is to adopt the thoroughly ridiculous position that all the races of men at all times and places have been equals one of another to a completely interchangeable degree. This point will be argued further in a concluding chapter. We may

[166] *Fallacies of Race Theories,* London, 1895.
[167] *Race and Nationality,* New York, 1919.
[168] *The Mind of Primitive Man,* New York, 1911.

note here, however, that the formation of a so-called "culture-species" is, as McDougall's statement indicates, an extremely complicated case of the interaction of inborn racial qualities and the psycho-social, politico-economic milieu. There is every reason to believe that the general level of inherent intelligence, the frequency and capacity of men of distinctly superior abilities, and certain ill-defined and more difficult to measure predispositions of temperament and character traits all have an important effect on the level of culture, the rate of cultural advance, and the type of characteristic institutions. But every thoroughly scientific student of the matter must confess that we have not yet devised a technique of investigation which can isolate the relative weight of the hereditary traits and the social conjuncture in the evolution of a given culture.

Moreover, it cannot be denied that McDougall has overstated the case when he claims that "the environment which thus selects and moulds the enduring elements is the sum of the native qualities of the people." His own phrases indicate the nature of the opposing argument. Human nature is plastic: "the character of each individual is greatly moulded by the national institutions and traditions," and these are largely derived from "a common stock of culture" in which many nations share and to which many nations, past and present, contribute. Hence "the environment which thus selects and moulds" is itself a very complex affair in which imitation and cultural suggestion have played a rôle in developing and shaping the attitudes of "the native qualities of the people." Moreover, the manifestations of a nation's "character" are far from uniform over a period of time which is long enough to comprise variations in its internal and external environment. There is, for example, the case of the idealistic, poetry- and music-creating, simple-honest, peace-loving, easy-going Germany of two or three generations ago (if one may rely on general impressions and literary descriptions in such a matter) and the realistic, scientific, mechanistic, militaristic, aggressive, efficiency-worshipping Germany of more recent days. The works of Babington and Oakesmith contain many illustrations of this variability in national character. Then there is the

utter impossibility of placing different nations under strictly comparable historical, economic and political environments. If one compares France and England without taking account of the differences in their geographical situations, their natural endowments in coal, iron, soil and sunshine, and without due weight for differences in cultural contacts and historical experience, he neglects very fundamental factors in the development of their ways of making a living, their economic structure and resources, their political institutions and their foreign policies.

The American traveler in Europe before the war was struck by the youthful vigor and up-to-dateness of the German cities, the extensive use of mechanical power and the applications of the physical sciences to common activities. He doubtless saw a much closer affinity between German and American ways of doing things than between English and American ways. This certainly was not due to a closer affinity in blood. It was in large part due to the fact that the industrial revolution in Germany came after 1870, as in the United States, and that the resources in coal and iron and scientific research were similar. Meanwhile British economic development had become less plastic, showed greater restraints from tradition and greater inhibitions from the accumulated resources of past successes and a lessened plasticity through the sharpening alignment of classes and the thickening cake of custom.

One may, therefore, be disposed to accept the theory that racial qualities affect the development of culture but be very skeptical of broad, loosely organized arguments to prove it. In view of the fact that McDougall has just devoted numerous pages to proving that Nordics have a special affinity for suicide and divorce, one must be struck by the fact that in the passage above quoted he says, "This law is of little significance in relation to such peculiarities as the frequency of suicide and divorce." And why not, one wonders? It would seem that his law could be most easily tested by just such phenomena. It is a strange procedure to spend many pages trying to solve something that has little significance. One can only guess that the good professor had certain lingering doubts about the validity of the argument based on suicide and divorce and like Chamberlainian anthropology pre-

ferred to reargue the matter in broader and more nebulous terms.

Just a further word regarding the corollary that great cultural differences flow from small racial differences. This also seems a plausible *a priori* position. McDougall asserts it only, but one might argue the matter in the following manner. The standards of life and activity in any social group are set largely by its leaders. The vast mass of any population is static, imitative and unimaginative. Modes and fashions originate with the superior or specialized types arising in a population and spread by suggestion and the favor of cultural conjuncture. Now such activities as exploration and colonization are modes of behavior due to certain psychic types set in a favorable historical and environmental situation. The rôle of race in such a matter is that the stock best endowed with certain qualities will produce individuals showing these qualities in their highest development more frequently than other stocks.

If then, one may rightly suppose the Nordics to be endowed by inheritance with a somewhat greater curiosity, adventuresomeness, wanderlust, or a somewhat greater self-reliance or diminished sociability than Alpines or Mediterraneans, then the peoples with the greatest proportions of Nordic blood would have been likely to produce a larger proportion of the world's greatest adventurers, explorers, colonizers and hence empire-builders. Such men would be the natural leaders of others. If these same qualities existed in even a slight degree of greater preponderance on the average among a people with a large Nordic element than among a people differently compounded it would be natural that their leaders should be able the more readily to set up exploration, adventure and migration as modes of behavior.

With this discussion as a background let us continue the analysis of McDougall's argument. Finding the Nordics especially endowed with introversion and curiosity but lacking in sociability he proceeds to argue that these differences go far to explain the spread of British dominion to the ends of the earth. The English have explored everywhere, colonized widely, and peopled whole continents; but the French, though they have at times possessed great areas, have formed only sporadic settlements. Here

McDougall makes no mention of those intrepid *voyageurs* who explored the St. Lawrence basin, the Great Lakes and the Missisippi Valley. Perhaps they were Nordic Frenchmen. The reason for the French failure is that before the Frenchman can act he must discuss the question at issue with his wife; there is disagreement and consequent failure to act; besides, the Frenchman must stay where he can chat with his neighbor. On the other hand, the Englishman "coldly gives his orders to his wife and goes forth to labor"; if he finds it profitable to do so, he sells his farm and goes deeper into the wilderness.[169] The Englishman makes his house his castle, the Alpines and the Mediterraneans prefer to live in cities.

This will doubtless strike every reader as an easy explanation of British empire-building and imperialism. It is unconvincing even to one predisposed to emphasize the importance of heredity as a factor in social life. It should be said in fairness that McDougall is not extravagant in his claims. He contends only that the differences here noted go some way to explain the differences in English and French expansion. Without making any reference to the differences of the French and English as regards historical situations, geographical, economic or political factors, the outcome of wars which in turn were affected by these factors and greatly affected the future developments of the English and French empires in America, let us subject McDougall's argument to an internal analysis.

We will note then in the first place that the introverted Nordics whose "nervous and mental energies, instead of flowing out freely to meet and play upon the outer world," who are given "to deliberation before action," are in one argument made to brood over their internal psychic conflicts and commit suicide, whereas in the later argument they are made to rove widely, battle with the elements everywhere, and seek the unknown dangers of the wilderness. On the other hand, the extroverted Alpine-Mediterraneans whose "emotions flow out easily into bodily expression and action" and who "are interested directly and primarily in the outer world about them" in one argument avoid suicide but in the other

[169] *Op. cit.*, pp. 106–7.

also avoid exploration and colonization and huddle themselves together in cities.

It may profitably be recalled at this point that the social anthropologists argued on the basis of a vast mass of statistical data that the Nordics were especially prone to migrate to urban centers. In their view, Nordics rushed to urban centers like June bugs to electric lights, only to be extinguished there and carry away with them the genius that creates and maintains culture. The reason advanced for all this was that the Nordics were born adventurers, full of curiosity and ambition. In McDougall's argument these qualities drive these same people to the wilderness and the frontier, while the excessive sociability of the Alpines and Mediterraneans drives them to the city. Here is another illustration of how similar premises are made to serve opposite conclusions. Obviously both arguments cannot be true though both may be untrue. In this connection, however, we may recall that the argument of the anthropo-sociologists was shown to prove the migratoriness of the round-headed Alpines, due to their high fertility. At the same time it must also be noted that the Alpines throughout eastern Europe are peasants as are the Nordics in Scandinavia and Denmark. So also are the latter to a great extent in the United States during at least their first generation among us—or at least they were while they were moving primarily into the great northwest. Now that they are moving to the great industrial centers McDougall would have either to reverse the racial endowments or to argue that the Nordic yearning for the wilderness has been overlaid through the corrupting effects of race mixture by Alpine-Mediterranean sociability. While one is mentioning such facts he ought also to note that the areas of greatest and most rapid urbanization since 1800 have been England and the more Nordic parts of Germany. One could, of course, explain this on McDougall's premises, as due to the corruption of these populations by an infiltration of Alpine or Mediterranean blood, but it is saner to argue that all such phenomena are the responses of intelligent human beings driven by the necessities for food, housing and raiment and by the desire to improve their well-being, to undertake those activities which under the conjuncture

of the entire set of social conditions affecting them, promise the greatest results. The semi-barbaric, primitively agricultural, koumiss-drinking Dinaric Alpines of east central Europe are of the same stock as the round-heads who populate the cities of northern Italy. Men must first of all make a living. In one age this makes them pioneers, in another farmers, and in still another migrants toward great industrial centers. All of which can be said without denying that varied environmental conditions operate with different selective vigor upon different *individual* types within their zones of influence. But whether there are differences between *racial* types in response to such conditions is by no means clear.

It is, in fact, distressing to find this particular kind of argument still being repeated by a scholar of international repute—though in another field. It reveals a naïve provincialism and lack of sophistication. One would not advance such arguments at all if he were able to get partially outside his own prepossessions and his own little world. They are easily reversible, for all one has to do is to take a look at the same people at another time or another place, or at a different people sometime, somewhere, and the special racial attribute either vanishes or is exhibited elsewhere. Many races and peoples have had their periods of great migrations. It may have been the Huns at one time, or at another the Mongols; in Europe probably the most impressive in size and continuity is the Alpine invasion; in Africa one might illustrate it by the Masai or the Bantu; in the Pacific, by the recent expansion of the Japanese; in America one might point to the recent northward migration of hundreds of thousands of negroes, or the southward migration of a few million French Canadians to repopulate the New England wilderness and—with equal facility—to supply workers in New England industries. Such movements as the British colonization of America are beyond doubt due primarily to the social milieu operating upon universal elements of human nature. So far as race is concerned in them the only question is whether some are more frequently affected by certain stimuli than others. But so complicated are nearly all such historical movements both as to their sociological setting and as to the

anthropological elements involved that no one has yet discovered a technique or made a sufficiently elaborate investigation to untangle the specific importance of particular racial types.

The social anthropologists made a suggestive effort in this direction, however, and Professor McDougall would have done well by the world had he been able to carry their abortive efforts to a successful conclusion. Had he tried to do so, it is obvious that he would have been confronted at the very outset with the question whether, among the English colonists in America and elsewhere, the Nordic types were distinctly pre-eminent. In the whole of the British Isles there is in all probability quite as large, if not a larger contingent of Mediterranean than of Nordic racial elements. Do we know that the blonds came across stormy seas and left the brunets at home? The immigrants did not come equally from all parts of the United Kingdom. Did they come primarily from the blonder areas? If so, did the blonds migrate from those areas in undue proportions? It may be noted in passing that the early settlers of New England, who according to good American tradition laid the basis of almost all that is peculiarly superior in our civilization, were Puritans. Now were the Puritans blonds or brunets, or both, or predominantly blond or predominantly brunet? Francis Galton in speaking of the changes in physiognomy in the British population [170] says of Cromwell's Ironsides that they "were recruited from the dark-haired men of the fen districts, and (who) are said to have left their impression on contemporary observers as being men of a peculiar breed." One may also recall that the *Report of the Anthropometric Committee* of the British Association in 1880 showed that the modal hair-color in the British population was "brown," that "dark brown" was more prevalent than "light brown" though "fair" and "very fair" shades were slightly more prevalent than "black brown" and "black." We refer later to Hrdlička's findings regarding the "Old Americans" and need remark here only that he found brunet traits more frequent than light ones. It thus becomes clear that, when McDougall attributes British empire-building to the Nordics, without any analysis whatever of the

[170] *Inquiries Into Human Faculty,* pp. 4–5.

British population and not even a suggestion of research into the anthropological traits of those who actually took part in that long historical process, he is drawing large conclusions from few facts. It may indeed take a psychologist, as he says, to appreciate the evidence, but it is not at all certain that all psychologists have qualified themselves to pass judgment. When, however, a detailed and elaborate anthropological inquiry is undertaken, if ever, one should be prepared to find numerous short brunets among the pioneers. Was not the Nordic Protestant Reformation led by a round-headed brunet named Luther?

Space does not permit a continuance of this detailed discussion of McDougall's anthropo-sociological excursion. The foregoing criticisms could be extended to his completion of the characterization of European races by finding in the Nordic a "greater dose of self-assertiveness" and in the Alpine an unusual degree of docility. Here again one must say: there may be something in it; but, thus far, the evidence is too confusing to be certain, least of all to warrant one positing thereon a theory of historical determinism.

As a final comment on McDougall's psycho-analytic explanation of race and history one may note that Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle, a psycho-analyst of world-wide repute whose *The Recreating of the Individual*[171] attracted great attention among psychologists, describes the Germans as "typically introvert" while the English are "typically extrovert." McDougall made them both Nordic and introvert. The disagreement is a wholesome corrective for imaginary illusions. Miss Hinkle describes the English as "typically extrovert, strong, dominant, aggressive, direct in action, with eyes definitely focussed on the external object." Had one not made certain she was characterizing England he might well have thought she was describing the *real-politik* Germany of recent times. But no, this country is described as "typically introvert. By nature thoughtful, idealistic, given to abstract reasoning and logical deduction and vastly self-conscious, the German feels the sense of inferiority which all introverts share." How then explain the great development of trade, commerce, and military

[171] New York, 1924.

power in Germany after 1870? This was "a titanic group effort to overcome the feeling of inferiority." But one may ask: if a nation suffering from an inferiority complex because of excessive introversion may transform itself into the opposite type—from "a nation of philosophers, poets and dreamers" as Miss Hinkle describes them to a nation of aggressive merchant adventurers and swash-buckling, sword-rattling militarists—by some mysterious tendency to "over-compensate," what becomes of inherited national character? How does one know that the English are not really introvert but concealing it? If one is to adopt a convincing theory of race he must find one less Protean in its metamorphoses.

But with the final section of McDougall's book, which is devoted to a restatement of the contention that the better endowed elements in the population are reproducing at a lower rate than the less endowed, we are in substantial agreement. There is abundant statistical proof of this contention to which we recur in a later chapter. There are also strong logical grounds for accepting the theory that this differential reproduction becomes a factor in national strength and vigor at one time and presages national decay at another, when its operation is reversed. This is a very different argument from that presented by the long list of Aryanists of various brands from Gobineau to Gould that race mixture destroys the vigor of a civilization by corrupting the purity of the race that built it. As we discuss this matter in a systematic manner in later pages, we may conclude this discussion of McDougall's perverse volume by saying that the Nordic propaganda in it is peculiarly cheap and tawdry, while his eugenic fears seem well grounded.

It is obviously impossible to take note of all the literature expressive of the Nordic propaganda in the United States, but there is one more author who should be studied briefly because of the notoriety he has attracted. Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard who has given us in three books varied glimpses of the collapse of civilization because of the changing anthropological basis of the world's population. In *The Rising Tide of Color* his readers saw not merely the approaching end of white world-domination but the

subsequent expansion of the economic power and political dominion of the colored peoples. There can be no doubt about the increasing self-assertion of the colored nations; nor even about the imminent end of the easy imperialism of white nations in various areas. But there will be a wide difference of opinion as to the effect upon the further evolution of world affairs. From the standpoint of the ecomomic prosperity of western nations, the increasing commercial power of the backward nations is distinctly advantageous. The pre-war trade of one of the great western powers with another was vastly more extensive and more profitable than its entire trade with the non-white world. The trade of the United States with England or Germany in 1910–14 or of either of these with the United States or with each other was greater than the trade of any one of them with all of Asia and Africa together, except in the case of England whose Indian trade is extensive. It may seem a bit surprising that in those years the United States sold to the one country of Germany more than to all the rest of Continental Europe, more than to all of Central America, South America, Asia and Africa combined. And we sold to England still more than to Germany. Moreover, we bought from those countries and they bought from each other equally surprising quantities of goods, in spite of the popular notion that each was the other's deadliest rival. The rising economic power of oriental nations may cause some shift in the direction of industrial effort in the United States with some hardships here and there, but the general effect will be to increase the prosperity of the American people as a whole. The same is true of Europe. Whatever raises the standard of life in Asia and Africa will, on the whole, count for world gain in more ways than one. Such advancement of the standards of the daily wants in India, China and Japan will swell to unprecedented proportions the imports and exports of every nation in the world.

Not only will there be this expansion of trade but the variety of goods will be increased. And even this diversification of products is secondary to the increase in the variety of cultural elements in every sphere upon which the whole world may draw more freely. If there be any special talents found in greater frequency

or higher ranges of possible development among these colored stocks than among the whites, then the world's civilization should be made richer by giving them a wider and freer sphere of activity.

But the main thesis of Stoddard's book is the great danger of an excessive expansion of the colored races. Now, it has been a favorite dictum of our Burgesses and Roosevelts that no race was entitled permanently to hold territory that they could not cultivate, according to the highest standards. It is questionable, beyond a doubt, whether sparsely settled white territory, such as much of Australia, can be permanently and exclusively reserved for white men. But the present outlook is all in their favor. Almost all the areas on the globe that are capable of sustaining larger populations are now in the possession of the white stock. Here are included the United States, Canada, Mexico, South America, Russia, Siberia, Australia and South Africa. The areas of the yellow races are already crowded. All the white man needs to do is to maintain the territorial *status quo*. Professor Edward M. East [172] computes that the world's population is now increasing at the rate of about 11 to 12 millions per year, of which from two-thirds to three-fourths represents the increase among the white races. On this basis, with possession of most of the attractive and sparsely populated areas on the globe and with multiplication in numbers at several times the rate of the colored races, the rising tide of color must look, from a detached viewpoint, more like the ebb than the flow.

The future security of the white races is not a question then of present territorial advantages nor of present rates of increase. All the conditions are in favor of a much more rapid increase of white than of colored stocks. Some question might arise in the case of particular areas such as Australia, where a vast continent is settled sparsely or not at all by a people that is multiplying at a very low natural rate. Their ability to hold this territory for their exclusive habitation, however, will depend, for the immediate future, not merely on their rate of multiplication but on the attitude of the rest of the white world toward a further expansion

[172] *Mankind at the Cross-Roads,* New York, 1923, pp. 111–6.

of the yellow races. This would undoubtedly be opposed. Such opposition is likely to increase with the increasing density of the white population in various other areas. Such increase seems likely also to be attended by some increase in migration to Australia. In such a matter much obviously depends on the progress of agricultural science and the development of methods of cultivation of semi-desert lands. Australia may well become a bone of contention between the white world and the seething populations of Japan and China, but the best guess now is that it will remain in the hands of the white man. Whether it can become an important area for his future expansion seems extremely doubtful.[173]

We pass over Stoddard's *Revolt Against Civilization* as it does not deal primarily with the Nordic doctrine. Along with much pseudo-science, exaggeration and literary exhibitionism it has many sound observations on the dysgenic selective processes now operating in western civilization. There seems no reason to doubt the validity of his argument that the lessened rate of reproduction among the successful classes constitutes a real danger for the future of western culture. There can be no doubt as to the fact. There seems little ground for doubting that it carries with it a reduction in the proportion of individuals of the higher grade of ability. Every thorough investigation that has been made of the matter points clearly in this direction, from the early work of Francis Galton to the recent extensive inquiries of Karl Pearson, Raymond Pearl, A Ploetz and many others in England, America and Germany.[174] If this matter is one-half or one-tenth as im-

[173] See Ellsworth Huntington, *West of the Pacific,* New York, 1925, especially Chaps. XV and XVIII.

[174] For accessible recent popular summaries see R. R. Gates, *Heredity and Eugenics,* London, 1923; and H. W. Siemens, *Race Hygiene and Heredity,* translated from the German by L. F. Barker, New York, 1924. One may mention here a little known but highly significant study by Professor Hornell Hart, "Differential Familial Fecundity," *Jour. Amer. Stat. Assn.,* vol. 20 (March, 1925), pp. 25–30, showing a reduction of mental test abilities in one generation by an amount equal to one-fourth the difference between a skilled and an unskilled worker. See also R. E. Baber and E. A. Ross, *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation,* University of Wisconsin Studies, Madison, 1924.

portant as Mr. Stoddard thinks, and he seems to be more right than wrong in spite of his exaggerations, then it should be made the object of an extensive and thorough scientific investigation. It is at least as important as the perfection of methods for controlling hog-cholera or for expanding the amusement facilities for the masses, upon which state governments and rich foundations are ready to spend huge sums.

Nor need we pass in extended review this author's latest outpouring of pseudo-science in his *Racial Realities in Europe*.[175] This work belongs distinctly within the category of Nordic propaganda. It contains, like all its ilk, an unholy alliance of fact, fancy and downright error. It is by all odds Stoddard's worst. The imagination hesitates to picture what his next will be if his monomaniacal attachment to his race mysticism rises to further heights. He leans heavily on Madison Grant; in fact this book is primarily a revision of Grant's racial history of Europe with a change of style and additional illustrations. The three European races are given the psychic qualities Grant has made familiar. Grant's map of present distribution is reproduced.[176] He asserts that, "these three races differ markedly from one another. Although they have been in Europe for thousands of years, have been in constant contact with each other, and have widely intermarried, they have never really fused and remain essentially distinct to-day." [177]

This is a favorite doctrine of the race purists who must preserve the purity of their types in order to preserve their basis of sociological interpretation. No evidence however is advanced for the dogma whereas every anthropological investigation reveals the relative rarity of pure racial types, even in isolated areas such as Norway and Sweden. Ammon's experience as reported by Ripley is quoted on p. 269.

[175] New York, 1924.

[176] The author does not note that this map shows Germany almost pure Nordic whereas he says, p. 14, "Down to the fall of the Roman Empire, Germany was almost wholly a Nordic land. Today it is mainly Alpine in race." Also p. 24 and Chapter VI.

[177] *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

There is a closely related theory which Stoddard repeats, to the effect that racial characteristics are not only persistent but in a mixed population segregate out so as to reproduce the original types. "Racial characteristics are about the most persistent things that we know of. Developed and set by ages of isolation and in-breeding, they do not fuse when crossed with characteristics of a different nature. On the contrary, they remain distinct in the mixed offspring, and the descendants of such mixed marriages tend to sort themselves out as belonging predominantly to one or other of the original types, in accordance with the hereditary laws applying to their particular cases." [178] The word "predominantly" covers a multitudes of sins in this theory, while the last clause—"in accordance, etc."—is a fine example of pseudo-scientific bluff and innuendo. As we have touched on this point already and will do so again, we need only to say here that, granting that there is a tendency toward Mendelian segregation of traits in a mixed population, there is no ground for supposing that complexion traits and head-form—to take only a few traits—would be so linked as to reproduce the original stocks. What evidence there is indicates that in Western Europe there is a pronounced tendency for round-headedness and blondness to prevail among a population composed of Nordic long-headed blonds and Alpine round-headed brunets. Both genetics and physical anthropology unite in declaring the population resulting from an age-old mixture of various original races to be a mosaic of the original ingredients.

Moreover, one may set over against Stoddard in his *Racial Realities* Stoddard as he puts himself down in his *Rising Tide*. In this earlier work he says:

"Every race is the result of ages of development which evolve specialized capacities that make the race what it is and render it capable of creative achievement. These specialized capacities (which particularly mark the superior races), being relatively recent developments, are highly unstable. They are what biologists call 'recessive' characters; that is, they are not nearly so 'dominant' as

[178] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

the older, generalized characters which races inherit from remote ages and which have therefore been more firmly stamped upon the germ-plasm. Hence, when a highly specialized stock interbreeds with a different stock, the newer, less stable, specialized characters are bred out, the variation, no matter how great its potential value to human evolution, being *irretrievably lost*. This occurs even in the mating of two superior stocks if these stocks are widely dissimilar in character. The valuable specializations of both breeds cancel out, and the mixed offspring tend strongly to revert to generalized mediocrity."

If one were to make a list of disputable, dogmatic and purely fanciful ideas in this quotation he would find the following: (1) pure races; (2) specialized capacities; (3) recessiveness of these capacities; (4) out-breeding and complete disappearances of these capacities; (5) reversion through crossing; (6) generalized mediocrity. Obviously, if one enter the propaganda business he can manufacture his doctrines to suit the problem at hand, but if one is to invent his biology and his anthropology he should not write two versions nearly contemporaneous but directly contradictory.

Stoddard seems wholly unaware of the pitfalls of historical interpretation in racial terms so fully exposed in such works as Oakesmith's *Race and Nationality*. Let us look at one typical illustration. In the chapter on "Kindred Britain" he gives the usual picture of the British. They are 80 per cent Nordic. Different types of Nordics actually "fused into a new English type," instead of segregating out into the original pure types or reverting to "generalized mediocrity." The Mediterranean dash has been too slight to upset English stability and poise, but it has been enough to give England many brilliant individuals. One is almost on the point of shouting, "Hurrah for the Mediterraneans" when he stumbles upon the following in the next sentence: "It is unquestionably the Nordic stock that is mainly responsible for Britain's greatness." How then does this new racial combination make history?

Stoddard argues that there is no possibility of a revolution in England on account of the steadiness, stability, fundamental con-

servatism and lack of excitability of the Nordic character. This idea is a very old one; many writers have argued that British common sense and sluggishness made for a safe and sane evolution of political and economic institutions, whereas French logic and excitability made for frequent revolution. There is probably some truth in these ideas, though stated in another way they would be denied by most apologists for Nordic supremacy. This other way would be to say that British sluggishness, tenacity and unexcitability grow out of lack of imagination and powers of vivid analysis and representation of a situation. The result is that the Britisher holds on and "mulls through" by sheer stupidity and brute force. If the turn of events favors him he is then accredited with great common sense. One may well doubt whether the English would be accredited with common sense in the handling of the American Revolution or with either common sense or imagination in handling the American Civil War. Opinions will differ as to the extent to which these qualities were manifested in different episodes of the Irish question.

Obviously the basic trouble with all such efforts at social analysis is the procrustean possibilities of one's dogma. With all the facility of a confirmed and artful psychoanalyst, the Stoddard type of ethno-analyst fits the suitable formula to the properly selected facts and works the magic of a plausible "scientific" explanation. In the one case timidity is due to an inferiority complex, but boldness is over-compensation for the same. In the other, the idealized race has virtues only. If it endures hardships with ox-like stolidity, this is due to its firmness and stability of character; if it makes a long sea voyage and settles a new land, this is due to its aggressiveness, spirit of adventure and will to dominate.

Finally, a word may be said regarding a fundamental error of logic committed by both McDougall and Stoddard as well as a host of others. There is a like fallacy also in the writings of the racial egalitarians. Both groups of controversialists assume a close analogy between the facts of individual differences and the facts of racial differences. Individual differences are sufficiently obvious to most observers. It is concluded by the racialists that the

differences of races are similar and that, therefore, just as there are good and bad strains within a population there must be good and bad races. The egalitarians on the other hand, being attached with equal emotional fervor to the dogma that the races are equal in hereditary powers and that differences are due to cultural environments only, feel it encumbent on them to deny or belittle by every possible device the differences of individuals. The racialists are thus without exception strong advocates of eugenics, whereas the environmentalists are equally busy pooh-poohing eugenic views.

Now there can in fact be no doubt of individual variations; there are superior and inferior strains in every race, nation, class or community. This is a general biological fact of the widest application. But such variations would exist and be equally important whether races are equal or unequal to one another. If we assume the races to be equal the aims of a sound eugenics are in no way affected. It would still be desirable to prevent differential rates of reproduction from lowering the average hereditary endowment among any given people. If, on the other hand, we assume the races to be unequal, the eugenic aims and the data for their realization become more complicated, but their importance is neither increased nor decreased.

This confusion of thought on the part of both the Stoddard school and what may be called the Boas school is based on the failure to distinguish clearly between the facts and logic of individual heredity and the facts and logic of group heredity. Modern genetics has accumulated a considerable body of knowledge of great importance for the social biologist. But in the study of modern populations, among which racial elements have become inextricably confused through thousands of years of intermixture, one cannot leap from the application of biological findings as to individual inheritance to their application to assumed pure races. To assume pure races, or even eighty per cent pure (as Brigham and Stoddard do for the English) is to beg the question by assuming the major premise. As Professor H. M. Parshley in his review of Stoddard's latest work says: "We have on the one hand the facts of biological heredity, of genetics, slowly emerg-

ing as the fruit of patient research on individuals, single families, and pure lines of animals and plants, facts which are, for the most part, surely pertinent to humanity; while on the other we have the mass generalizations about human sub-races in Europe—vague, dubious, unmeasured, unreliable. Stoddard fails, here and in former books, to bring these two realms of thought into any convincing relation." (*American Review,* May–June, 1925.) This matter is considered at greater length in the following chapters.

PART II

CONCEPT AND SOCIAL RÔLE OF RACE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In approaching a constructive study of the principles implied in the doctrines the literary history of which has been sketched in the previous pages, we realize first of all the necessity of careful definition and delimitation of terms. The idea of race is so charged with dynamic emotions that a thoroughly objective discussion of its bearings on social problems is extremely difficult. The primary necessity is to search for a tenable conception of race. In this search we shall discover the immense significance which attaches to the facts of human variation. The wide range of individual variations within every race does not, however, destroy the significance of the racial concept nor warrant the conclusion that the differences between races are negligible.

Having reached a working concept of race we can proceed to inquire whether and to what extent there are pure races. While the exact data are not abundant we can go on to inquire, on the basis of historical record and biological theory, whether racial purity is desirable. From the preceding pages it must already have appeared that the current notion popular in certain American circles that the Nordic race, and especially the American branch of it, represents a pure-bred stock comparable to a pedigreed domestic animal is without foundation. We then pass to the question of the equality of races. Our discussion of this troublesome matter will give some aid and comfort and an equal amount of vexation to both the advocates of equality and the proponents of inequality. It will thus be satisfactory to neither set of extremists but may nevertheless be in harmony with the facts.

With this background we enter upon a brief discussion of race mixture in which we again note the primary importance attaching

to the facts of individual variation within every racial group and the consequent necessity of distinguishing the effects of racial crossings grossly viewed from the effects of crossing of individuals of high degree or low degree within the range of racial variations. It will also appear essential to distinguish the effects of crossing as a general biological phenomenon from the effects due to the individual or racial qualities crossed. This leads to the question whether it is reasonable to suppose that the biological qualities of a population remain unchanged through considerable periods of time. Having answered this question in the negative we advance the hypothesis that in areas of advanced culture there is an ebb and flow in the racial inheritance which has some—as yet unweighted—significance for the ebb and flow of culture. Some further consideration of the relation of race to culture leads to a comparison of the relative importance of the eugenic as contrasted with the racial hypothesis.

HUMAN VARIABILITY

The basis of all accurate thinking regarding racial matters is the fact of human variability. This is merely a special case of that variability which is universal in animate nature. There is no measurable trait, either physical or mental, with respect to which the members of any human group, however limited in numbers, are equal. Even a small body of adults of the same sex will show considerable variations in stature, weight, hair-color, eye-color, head-form, brain-size, body-build, length of span, size of foot, etc., through the whole list of physical measurements. The same may be said of the much more important physiological characteristics, such as vitality, energy, endurance, resistance to disease, and longevity, which are so basic to individual success whether in the struggle for existence on the savage plane or the struggle for a certain standard of living in a civilized community. This fact of human variability scarcely needs further elaboration since it is a matter of common observation, though too frequently ignored in the democratic philosophizings of a humanitarian age. So universal is this tendency to vary that children of the same

family differ one from another. They may frequently exhibit a general family resemblance, but sometimes they differ as much as children of different families. Even identical twins, evolved from the same zygote, will, according to the findings of Professors H. H. Newman [1] and H. H. Wilder, [2] show some, though slight, variation one from another.

If one turn his attention to mental differences he meets with the same general fact. In any considerable group there is a range from idiocy to genius. If the group is made small and relatively homogeneous the range of variation is narrowed but the variability still exists. Children of the same age, pupils of the same school grades, adult males of the same occupation, differ one from another in their sensory powers, speed of reaction to stimulus, memory, judgment and reasoning ability. These differences are at any time and place due to the combined effects of both hereditary potentialities and environmental conditions. But it is worth while to note that, even if the environmental conditions are made as nearly equal as possible the variations persist. The variations in mental traits rest, on their biological side, on variations in brain and nerve size and structure, and there is no ground for supposing that these do not vary through wide limits in consequence of purely hereditary factors.

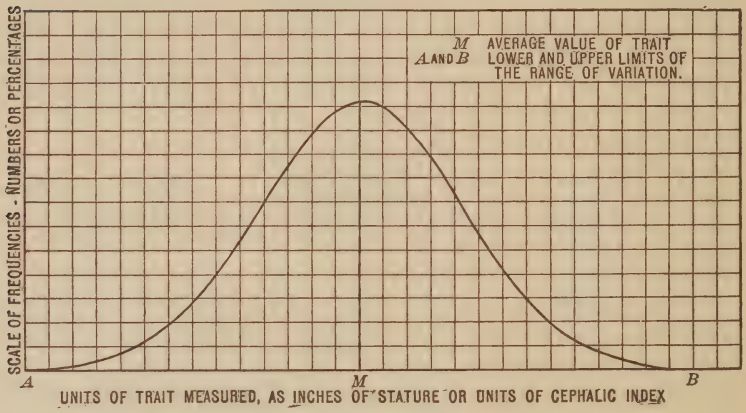
We see then, in the first place, that any conception of race must include this fact of universal variability. How then can this variability be graphically represented? For nearly a century now, or since the work of the Belgian astronomer and anthropometrist, Adolphe Quetelet, it has been clear that the physical traits of a homogeneous group of men are distributed after the manner of the probability integral pictured in the curve of distribution of errors in measurement. The work of three generations of anthropologists and biometricians makes it clear that the same general form of distribution is found for all traits. In the light of the voluminous researches of recent years under the leadership

[1] *The Biology of Twins,* Chicago, 1917.

[2] "Palms and Soles of Identical Twins," *Amer. Jour. of Anat.,* vol. 1, 1902, pp. 434–41; and "Physical Correspondence of Two Sets of Duplicate Twins," *Jour. of Hered.,* vol. 10, 1919.

of Galton and Pearson, Thorndike, Terman and the army psychologists it now appears clear that mental traits also follow this same general form of distribution. In the theoretically ideal case a perfectly symmetrical curve of distribution would result because the variations would be due to the chance combinations of an infinitude of infinitesimal factors each of which had an equal probability of being present or absent. This would be like the frequency distribution of all the possible combinations of say a thousand coins thrown an exceedingly great number of times, a statistical distribution being made of the numbers of heads and tails in each throw.

The accompanying curve pictures this ideal case.


SCALE OF FREQUENCIES - NUMBERS OR PERCENTAGES
M
A AND B AVERAGE VALUE OF TRAIT
LOWER AND UPPER LIMITS OF
THE RANGE OF VARIATION.
A
M
B
UNITS OF TRAIT MEASURED, AS INCHES OF STATURE OR UNITS OF CEPHALIC INDEX

If, for example, one were graphically representing the distribution of stature in a given racial group he would indicate units of stature on the base line and units of frequency on the vertical ordinate. His curve would then tell him what were the limits of stature in the group, how many individuals will be found having each degree of stature, and what the central tendency of the group is as to stature. If one call this central tendency the mode or average, it is clear that more persons have statures near the average than elsewhere and that the frequency diminishes with departure therefrom. In the same, or much the same, manner

other traits will be found distributed. We need not concern ourselves here with departures from symmetry as they do not affect the general nature of the concepts we are elucidating.

We have in the foregoing statistical theory the only valid method of conceiving a race. When we speak of the characteristics of a race it is necessary to think in terms of average values for given traits about which are grouped the members of the race in a more or less symmetrical manner through a greater or less range of variability. To think of a race as having certain well-defined traits without at the same time taking account of its variability is to leave out an essential datum for accurate thinking. Our Nordic propagandists, for example, customarily attribute high intelligence to the Nordic, thus leaving out of account the fact that Nordic intellects range downward through imbecility to idiocy.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPT OF RACE

We may then ask: what is a race? In the first place, race designates a group of human beings set apart from others by one or more marks of physical difference. It is a taxonomic, zoölogical term and it is thus similar to such terms as variety, subspecies, species, genus. These terms designate groups of quite different inclusiveness, but the term race is commonly used, in the case of the human species, to designate all such groupings and hence all degrees of inclusiveness. Thus we have the human race, the Caucasian race, the Caledonian race. But in all cases the word means a group of men set apart by certain physical traits implied in the qualifying adjective. Thus when one speaks of the human race he means to set off all mankind as distinct in certain physical respects from the rest of the animal world. In this case the range of variability is very great and the elements found in common among all members of the group are general rather than specific. The terms Caucasian or Mongolian applied to races are likewise recognized as broad and general in nature. They call attention to certain obvious differences between some of the major ethnic stocks of mankind which include within themselves a variety of minor divisions.

But this last statement holds true of all groups included in every known classification of races including those of Bernier in 1684 and Linnæus in 1735. The term Caucasian, originated by Blumenbach (1775), included Arabs and Swedes. Cuvier (1769–1832) found in Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, the progenitors of three primary varieties of man, a classification still extant in certain religious circles. With the growth of knowledge and development of scientific methods there was a tendency among

anthropologists to multiply the races and varieties of man.[3] Haeckel found twelve races in 1873 but thirty-four in 1879; Topinard found sixteen in 1878 but increased the number to nineteen seven years later; and Deniker's classification in 1889 included thirteen races and thirty sub-divisions but in 1900 had seventeen races with twenty-nine divisions.

Meanwhile it had become evident to a few that, as Pritchard[4] said: "The different races of man are not distinguished from each other by strongly-marked and permanent distinctions. . . . All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations." Indeed, this same fact had been perceived by Blumenbach a generation earlier when he said: "The innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees." Topinard[5] said: "Race in the present state of things is an abstract conception, a notion of continuity in discontinuity, of unity in diversity. It is the rehabilitation of a real, but directly unattainable thing." Keane[6] classified mankind into many varieties all of which were derived from three or four original or primary, that is, "ideal" or "generalized" types.

A little reflection on these efforts will show that there is no simple and exhaustive conception of race. If we begin with the concept "Primates" we include with man the anthropoids and in so doing will call attention to their numerous fundamental similarities, and will set off the race of primates from the rest of the animal world. If we begin with the human race as the most inclusive group we can steadily narrow the number of individuals included and hence the range of variation by a more and more precise definition of requisite traits. If, for example, we add to the trait human, the trait white, or near-white, skin we set apart the Caucasian division. Let us add blond hair, and our group diminishes and the range narrows; if we add blue eyes, it contracts still further. It should be evident that we can go

[3] See A. C. Haddon, *History of Anthropology,* pp. 88 *et seq.*

[4] *Natural History of Man,* 1885, p. 644.

[5] "De la notion de race en anthropologie," *Revue d'Anth.,* 1879, quoted by Ripley, *op. cit.,* pp. 111–2.

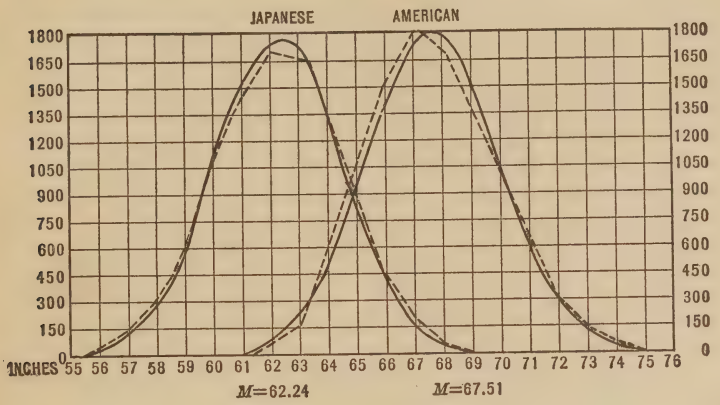
[6] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology,* 1895, especially pp. 224, 228.

on adding traits of more and more specificity until we distinguish one stirp or kinship group from another; and in this we could set families off one from another; until, in last analysis, we come to the individual, who is the only creature in the world like himself in all respects. We can thus arrange a series ranging down from Primates through humanity to such narrower groups as Caucasian, Nordic, Nordic varieties and sub-varieties, or stirps or clans and families to individuals. Such a series would be comparable to the zoölogist's series: kingdom, phylum, class, order, genus, species, variety, individual.

The term race in the sense of a group with distinctive hereditary traits would apply to every category in such a series, except the last. Each category is included in the one which precedes it and to that extent bears a fundamental resemblance to it; but each is also distinctive in possessing traits peculiar to itself. One may thus say that all men are human, and since he would mean by this that they are set apart from the anthropoids he would be warranted in saying that their similarities one with another are obvious in their universal contrasts with the apes. This would not be a denial of man's fundamental unity with the anthropoids but would emphasize his differences in certain respects. Similarly with each narrowing category. Hence one must beware of unconsciously assuming that, because all men are human, therefore, their differences are negligible. There is probably no point of demarcation where the differences are negligible, even down to the individuals who represent the smallest possible sub-division. We may not, however, as yet be able to measure the significance for human affairs of some of these differences. It is thus apparent why the concept of race is so elusive. We can say only that, in its general meaning, the concept of race, first of all, includes the idea of distinctive hereditary traits.

In the second place, since the concept must allow for a certain variability among the members of the designated group, the two ideas of type and variation about the type become essential elements in the definition of race. If we think of a race as a group set apart by some *single* trait, as stature, these ideas may be represented in their simplest form by graphs for Japanese and

American soldiers. The one group has a typical or average stature of 63.24 inches but varies in height from just under 56 inches to 69 inches; the other has an average stature of 67.51 inches and varies in height from under 62 inches to nearly 75 inches.



Actual and Ideal Frequency Distribution of the Heights of Japanese and American Soldiers, as given by R. E. Chaddock, *Principles of Statistics*, New York, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1925, p. 227.

This simple illustration also serves to bring out the overlapping of races though the overlapping is here much less than will be found in most cases. If we had only stature to go by we should not be able to determine whether many of the individuals measured belonged to the taller or to the shorter race. This fact of overlapping constitutes, then, a third primary feature in our concept of race. As the above quotations from Blumenbach and Topinard indicate, the races or types of man shade into one another—there is a "continuity in discontinuity." This is true of all the customary indices of racial difference, viz., stature, cephalic-index, hair-color, eye-color, skin-color, nasal-index, hair-form, alveolar-index, etc. As regards any one index, therefore, it is possible to arrange the types of man into a series with large overlapping areas so that it would be impossible to tell where one race ends or the next begins. This overlapping is primarily a consequence of the fact that

all men may be traced back through hundreds of thousands of years to a common ancestral stem; in spite of their differentiation into varieties all men retain some combination of those traits which distinguish men from the other primates. The overlapping is due in part also to the universal tendency of all living things to vary about their own hereditary center. Thus Professor Jennings and his laboratory associates have shown that even in pure-line paramecia, bred from single individuals, there is a considerable variability, and a great deal of overlapping of strains nearest each other.[7]

It follows from this extensive overlapping of racial categories when only a single trait is measured, that we must combine a number of traits in order to distinguish one race from another. Even white and negro cannot be distinguished by stature or by cephalic index; even as regards skin-color and hair-form the border areas of distribution overlap. It is this overlapping that makes it necessary to think of a race as a complex of traits inherited together within a limited range of variability. Since tall shades into short, long into round, and dark into light, it must be shown that with tall stature are found also a certain head-form, eye-color, shape of hair, etc. But even with a combination of traits there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing one race from another in areas where the two have long been in contact with each other and produced intermediate types of varying degrees of composition.

And it is here that we come upon the central difficulty of race discrimination, namely, the fact that through geologic periods one human stem has crossed with another so that traits tend to spread widely from the center of their first specialization. In other words, as regards man, there is no such thing as a pure line in either modern or extinct races. There has always been a certain amount of cross-breeding, though among peoples living in great isolation, such as the extinct Tasmanians, this must have been slight. All peoples living in accessible, and especially all those living in fertile areas, have been so subject to immigration, war and conquest as well as wife stealing and other varia-

[7] See T. H. Morgan and others, *The Mechanism of Mendelian Heredity*, rev. ed. 1923, p. 284.

tions of matrimonial institutions as to make impossible the maintenance of racial purity in an unalloyed state.

The human groups now existent will range, therefore, all the way from a high degree of racial purity in small isolated groups found here and there which for many generations have remained in complete freedom from outside influence, such as certain Eskimo tribes mentioned by Boas, to the extreme hybridity characteristic of such great cosmopolitan centers as Constantinople.

But the problem of racial definition is not beyond a certain degree of possible clarification. The primary difficulty is the difficulty of thinking in terms of relatives rather than absolutes, of probabilities rather than certainties. The average mind wants its science like its religion and its ethics dished up to it in terms of absolutes and eternal verities, whereas the actual world is a world of variability, constant alteration, and relativity. We shall find that racial types are themselves in a state of flux and that the differences between types are relative rather than absolute. This does not mean that the differences are without significance, but that they must be conceived as what they are, variations of certain fundamental attributes which belong to all mankind. Just as all men of a certain group have stature or intelligence, but some are taller or brighter than others, so all the different varieties of men have stature and intelligence but some are taller than others and some are brighter.

If Sir Arthur Keith [8] be correct in assuming that the human stem differentiated from the anthropoid stem about 2,000,000 years ago and that the fundamental types of modern men were differentiated from each other at least 400,000 years ago, there has been plenty of time for both race specialization and race crossing. White, Yellow and Black—each during all this time has undergone mutation, variation and selection and varying degrees of geographic isolation for varying lengths of time. Groups have repeatedly split off from parent stems, undergone greater or less differentiation, and then crossed with other variates of the same general stock. Crosses have now been between closely related types and now between those widely separated. They have taken the form

[8] *The Antiquity of Man,* London, rev. ed., 1925.

sometimes of small infusions of alien elements, sometimes of large ones, and sometimes large, fairly heterogeneous groups have been absorbed into others. These crossings have sometimes been the result of temporary contacts between settled and migratory groups, sometimes long continued interchange between contiguous settled communities. All sorts of human interests have played their part in such intermixture of blood, from war and slavery, through drought and enforced migration, adventure, exploration and trade, to wife capture and purchase, and even religious wars and crusades.

The result is that the populations found within any considerable geographical area will present a certain broad similarity which sets them off from the populations of other distant areas, as Africans from Europeans, Chinese or Hindus. But within each such area viewed by itself there is great diversity; these large areas may be broken up into smaller ones each showing a certain distinction from others, as is seen in the case of Europe where the south, northwest and east form more or less distinctive anthropological provinces. Then these provinces may be further sub-divided until one reaches those small and very special differences which distinguish the people of one mountain valley from their neighbors. Here again we see that the concept of race must vary constantly with the number of traits which are brought into consideration and the extent of their variation. We may move from such broad terms as Caucasian, through Ripley's well-known designations of European races, to the sub-varieties under each of the latter.

And as we thus give definiteness and concreteness to the concept we meet with an increasing difficulty of finding perfect exemplars of it. Thus Ripley found that the European peoples were so mixed that any given combination of hair-color and eye-color would exclude two-thirds of the population in nearly every area. If to these two traits be added head-form, then only a small portion of the population in any European area would be found to combine all three traits. "Imagine a fourth trait, stature, or a fifth, nasal-index, to be added, and our proportion of pure types

becomes almost infinitesimal." So that, when Ripley asked Ammon for a photograph of a pure Alpine type, the latter, although he had measured thousands of Rhenish recruits, replied that he had never found a specimen of the Alpine type perfect in all details. "All his round-headed men were either blond, or tall, or narrow-nosed, or something else they ought not to be." [9]

This means that when we define a race in terms of a series of physical traits we necessarily describe an idealized type. Thus the Baltic, Teutonic or Nordic race is said to have tall stature, long heads, narrow noses, clear blue, green or gray eyes and blond hair. All these traits are variable, even the blue eyes, though the range of variation is narrowly restricted in each case. If now, one studied the population of a presumably "Nordic" community he might begin by singling out all the tall people; among these he might select out those with long heads; and from among these in turn those with narrow noses, etc. He would end by having all those of his assumed race, and they would be only a small fraction of those with whom he began. If now, these were judged by an exacting standard, such as is used in judging animals at the cattle show, an even smaller fraction of them, a truly infinitesimal portion of them, would exemplify the true or perfect type. It is much like the "average man" of common parlance. All of us represent him in some respect; many of us in more than one; but almost none, if any, of us represent him in all respects. He is purely ideal because so many variants of him are embodied in all sorts of persons.

In other words, when one speaks of a race he must bear in mind the following considerations. There is, first, the general fact of human variability. There is, secondly, the idea of type about which individual copies more or less inexact are grouped in a more or less regular manner. There is, thirdly, the overlapping with reference to any specific traits of the exemplars of one type and of related or contiguous types. This in itself would tend to prevent the easy separation of types but such is made immensely more difficult by the fact of race crossing. This brings

[9] Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–8.

it about, fourthly, that the determination of race types in any given area (except long isolated ones) becomes a process of the abstraction of traits from existing individuals and their recombination into a generalized or ideal type represented by few or no living individuals.

CHAPTER III

ARE THERE PURE RACES?

We thus see that the concept "race" is plastic and relative. In what sense, if any, can there be said to be pure races? This question already has been largely answered. So frequent have been human migrations and so constant the contacts of tribes that a perfect purity could not be maintained. Purity of a very high degree could only be preserved in areas of geographic isolation, such as islands, mountain valleys, or desert oases. But, if one is interested in the rôle of race in cultural evolution, it must be evident that completely isolated groups have counted for naught. On the other hand, all those conditions which enable a race to play such a rôle have favored its commingling with other stocks. When, therefore, one thinks of those groups which have swept across the pages of European history in either prehistoric or historic times he must conceive them as being already more or less heterogeneous. The acquisition of the very cultural equipment which enabled them to migrate and conquer was doubtless due in large part to those contacts which, while facilitating a diffusion of culture, would also involve a crossing of strains. It is for such reasons taken in conjunction with the discussion of earlier pages[10] that we are warranted in holding on strong *a priori* grounds as well as on both recent and Palæo-anthropological evidence that there has been no considerable area at any time inhabited by a simon-pure Nordic race.

It is this universal hybridity which has made necessary the idealization of the type as illustrated by the terms Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean. Professor Ripley's discussion[11] makes it

[10] See *supra,* especially pp. 189 *et seq.*

[11] *Races of Europe,* New York, 1899, especially Chap. VI.

clear as we have seen that the traits ascribed to these races are arrived at only in consequence of processes of elimination and idealization. It is wholly improbable that there is anywhere in Europe any sizable area inhabited by a people whose blood has remained since Neolithic times unmixed with that of some more or less different stock. The proof is in the fact that "at the present time rarely, if indeed ever, do we discover a single individual corresponding to our racial type in every detail." [12] Similar considerations apply to other areas and peoples. It appears on a superficial survey that there are vast groups of Europeans unmixed with negro blood, as also considerable areas of negroid and mongoloid stocks unaffected by European admixture. But within each grand division of mankind and even down to particular tribal bodies within them there has everywhere been an absence of that complete segregation of groups which would have given perfect homogeneity. Indeed, the facts presented by Dixon's survey of extant anthropological data show that everywhere on the globe, and at all times for which data are available, head-forms have been quite variable. This conclusion holds whether his theory of the original ingredients be correct or not. In almost exactly the same manner Fleure has shown that extreme dolichocephaly and certain associated characters are found in such widely separated places as Wales, Ireland, France, the Iberian Peninsula, North and East Africa, Australia (Aborigines), Fiji Islands and East Brazil.[13]

All this has an intimate bearing on one's conception of such populations as the assumed original Aryans, the Nordics, the Wiros. Thus Peake, Nordic Aryanist, while giving them rather typical traditional characteristics, admits their heterogeneity. In fact, he argues [14] that there probably has never been a human group living in complete isolation long enough to have produced a close homogeneity. Thus the evidence of Palæolithic skulls of the steppe-folk of several thousand years ago, studied by Sergi

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[13] H. J. Fleure, "Some Early Neoanthropic Types in Europe and Their Modern Representatives," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 50, 1920, pp. 12–40.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 154–6.

and Bogdanov, show a range in cephalic index from 65 to 79 even with the exclusion of certain broad skulls found in the same burial mounds. This is more than a third of the whole human range and fully one-half the range of all but extreme forms; it is wide enough to include many sub-types. His conclusion is: "We can then imagine our Wiros as a somewhat variable race, with heads that conform to the narrow rather than the broad type, tall and robust, though probably neither so tall nor so robust as many of the modern Nordics. There is reason for believing them to have been fair, though it is likely enough that in coloration, too, there was considerable variation." [15] This is a circumspect statement, but one may add to its circumspection. The only evidences for blondness are scrappy bits of mythology. We do not know what proportion may have approached pure blonds. Peake is himself inclined to think the extreme blondness found among the Swedes is a later specialization. We do not know for certain whether in ancient times blondness was associated with the long heads or the round heads and in what proportions; nor do we know in what proportions tallness, blondness and long-headedness were found in the same persons. All the evidence presented by Peake indicates that his mythical Wiros, the possible ancestors of the Achæan heroes, of the Celts and the Teutons, were highly hybridized 5000 to 8000 years ago. It is doubtful whether they have ever been less so at any time since, except in small isolated areas, where they would be of no historical significance.

We think then of a race as an ensemble of physical traits, each more or less variable, all inherited as an ensemble within their limits of variation, and sufficiently distinctive when taken together to mark off their possessors from other members of the human species. Such a conception is plastic and adaptable. It applies to all anthropological types, but in view of the excessive tendency toward crossing of lines such a concept of race makes it clear that such historical groups as the Aryan, Greek, Latin, German, or English cannot be looked upon as pure races, or even approximately pure. Such terms as Slav, Celtic and Teutonic, when applied to those tribes and peoples who have moved across the arena

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

of European history must be reserved for political and ethnological groupings rather than anthropological types. It should be clear also that if the term Nordic is to be used to designate one of the racial types entering into the composition of European peoples, then it should not be applied to historical groups. There have been and still are some groups containing more Nordic blood than others but no investigation has yet been made which shows how much such nations owe to their Nordic ingredients and how much to other elements.

This does not mean that the fundamental races of Europe—Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean, or whatever classification of them be finally adopted—are equal in any sense. In so far as they are distinctive races they are quite truly different and hence unequal in the only possible sense. It follows that the populations made up of differing proportions of the fundamental races must also be different and unequal. But to this point of racial inequality we shall return. We may for the moment conclude the discussion of the question whether there are pure races by saying that purity as applied to a race is necessarily a relative term and that, so far as Europe is concerned, even moderately pure races exist, if at all, only in isolated areas here and there.

CHAPTER IV

ARE RACE AND NATION IDENTIFIABLE?

Such a conclusion virtually answers the question whether it is possible to identify race and nation. We have touched on this matter in connection with Burgess's attempt to designate the nationalities of Europe. Perhaps other illustrations will be useful. The population of Great Britain, for example, is now known to be a very heterogeneous one in point of origins. Mackenzie[16] thinks the earliest of the surviving types was the Cro-Magnon, still found in a certain purity in the Dordogne region of France. They practised the Magdalenian culture. Next were introduced the Maglemosian culture by a presumably fair type coming from the Baltic area, and the Azilian-Tardenoisian culture by the shorter, smaller and much darker Iberian peoples, who apparently had their centers of origin in southern Europe or northern Africa, or even in more remote sections of Africa farther east. Then Neolithic culture was introduced mainly by Iberians of Mediterranean type, whose migration flowed continuously into Britain during many centuries. Then came the Armenoid or Alpine, who introduced Bronze culture. The Cro-Magnons were tall and powerfully built; the fair Northerners were tall and long-headed; the Iberians were short to medium in stature, with long skulls and short narrow faces, slight skeletons, very dark hair and skin, and scanty facial hair. These were the Long-Barrow people. The Alpines, Celtic-speaking, were medium to tall in stature, strongly muscled, with heavy skeletons, round heads, and abundant facial hair. These Round-Barrow men were followed by those who burned their dead and therefore left no remains. Mean-

[16] Donald A. Mackenzie, *Ancient Man in Britain,* London and New York, 1923, pp. 125 ff. and 213 ff.

while there were considerable numbers coming to the coasts of England from France, Portugal and Spain. Also before the Roman occupation came fair, Celtic-speaking people and dark Celt-Iberians. The Roman occupation left no measurable effect, but in the fifth century A. D. began the immigration of Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Norwegians. These were medium to tall in stature, medium to extremely fair in complexion, prevailingly long-headed, with strong bodies. None of these groups was exclusively dolichocephalic. The West Saxons, the Norwegians and the Danes evidently all contained considerable brachycephalic elements.[17] All the main racial elements of Europe are, therefore, represented in the British population and have been for more than a thousand years. And yet Sir Arthur Keith is able to say, "the inhabitants of the British Isles are the most uniform of all the large nationalities of Europe," [18] a statement which should be interpreted to mean only that all European nationalities are extremely heterogeneous from the standpoint of racial composition.

It is worth while to follow this matter further because the particular brand of Nordic mythology which prevails in this country is largely based on the superstition that the British Isles, whence came many of the early colonists, were almost exclusively peopled by tall blonds with long heads. This belief has rested in part on the remarkable uniformity of the cephalic index averages found for different sized groups throughout Great Britain and Ireland. The averages for different counties in the British Isles range from 76 in the Scotch Highlands to over 80 in western Ireland, though an average of 78 or 79 is found in most counties. Recent studies, however, have shown that this uniformity applies to the *averages only*. The work of Fleure and James [19] has demonstrated a very remarkable variation within the local groups. It has long been known that there were "pockets" here and there in the population where certain traits were more

[17] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–73.

[18] *Race and Nationality from an Anthropologist's Point of View*, Oxford, 1919, p. 24.

[19] H. J. Fleure and T. C. James, "Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 46, 1916, pp. 35–154.

frequent than usual, but these recent studies show variation rather than uniformity to be the rule. Ancient types persist with an astonishing tenacity, so that future anthropological investigations will be forced to make a study of the individual types represented in every community rather than a general study of average indices of different communities.

This same heterogeneity reveals itself in a study of stature and complexion in the British population. In the first place, there is a rough correspondence of tallness and blondness, but it is only a rough one and has to take account of many exceptions. Since Beddoe's early work in the eighties it has been clear that the Scotch and the Irish presented anomalies. The Scots of the southwest counties are the tallest people in Europe, if not in the world, but show a high degree of brunetness. Those of Argyle seem darker than the Welsh but distinctly taller than the average of the British Isles. The Irish of Connaught have slightly above average stature though possessing a brunetness greater than that of the Welsh who have the lowest stature in the islands.

Recently F. G. Parsons summarized the old and some new data for pigmentation.[20] Ripley had said of the British population: "In the darkest regions pure brunet types are more frequent than the blond by about five per cent. Everywhere, however, all possible crossings of characteristics appear, proving that the population is well on the road to homogeneity." [21] Parsons presents much the same picture. Thus if hair-color be classed according to the gradations, red, fair, brown, dark, black, and eyes classed as either light or dark, the combination of dark eyes with dark to black hair seldom falls below 25 per cent of the community in any part of the islands; while the percentage showing fair hair is usually below twenty. The most frequent single combination of these classes is that of light eyes and brown hair, but there are large percentages for the opposite combinations of fair hair and dark eyes, or dark to black hair and light eyes. Light eyes of all shades were found to be more frequent than dark

[20] "The Color Index of the British Isles," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 50, 1920, pp. 159–83.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 320.

ones of all shades in the ratio of three to two. The author calls attention to the persistence of dark hair and light eyes. There is here, as in other parts of northwest Europe, considerable ground for supposing that the light shades of eye, instead of being recessive as we have been told by the Mendelian eugenists, are disproportionately persistent in a mixed population.

Enough has been said to show that so far as the British Isles are concerned there is no basis for an identification of race and nation. This is not possible even when one thinks of the Irish alone or the Scotch alone. Even the notion of an Irish race or a Scottish race is only a little less untrue than the notion of an English race. To think, therefore, of the population of the British Isles as Anglo-Saxon is to think in terms of unrealities. They had an Anglo-Saxon contingent added to their population a thousand and more years ago, Saxons who were not from Saxony, for the Saxons of Saxony are round-headed brunets to an overwhelming degree. Its effects still persist; but in view of growing evidence one can no longer think of even those Saxon conquerors as all of one type. If they included a proportion of round heads and a variety of long ones, we may be sure they also included along with their blonds a great variety of mixed and brunet complexions. At no time in its past has England, therefore, been an Anglo-Saxon country in the racial sense, even admitting that the Anglo-Saxons were a more or less hybrid people. No doubt many of its leaders have shared what has been called Anglo-Saxon blood, but many of them likewise have shown little evidence of pure Nordic traits.

An interesting proof of this can be found in a table prepared by Havelock Ellis and used by Charles E. Woodruff,[22] in both cases for the purpose of proving the prepotency of blond blood in the production of leaders of men. Adopting Woltmann's method, Ellis counted the blonds and brunets in the National Portrait Gallery at London and then, by dividing the number of blonds by the number of brunets in each class and multiplying by 100 he arrived at an index of blondness for different classes of genius. One may well be skeptical of such a loose method of

[22] *Expansion of Races,* New York, 1909, Chap. VIII.

determining racial ingredients, but we cite the table here partly to show that it can be interpreted in either way so far as its original uses are concerned and partly to show that the leaders of the English nation have been sometimes blond and sometimes not.

Class	Number	Index of Blondness
Political Reformers and Agitators	20	233
Sailors	45	150
Men of Science	53	121
Soldiers	42	113
Artists	74	111
Poets	56	107
Royal Family	66	107
Lawyers	56	107
Created Peers and Their Sons	53	89
Men and Women of Letters	87	85
Hereditary Aristocracy	149	82
Divines	57	58
Men of Low Birth	12	50
Explorers	8	33
Actors and Actresses	16	33

Ellis thinks that this table reveals that blondness is characteristic "among men of restless and ambitious temperament, etc."; that "while the men of action thus tend to be fair the men of thought show more tendency to be dark." This harmonizes with Dixon's suggestion that the Caspian (or Nordic) has been more of a conqueror, the Mediterranean more of a thinker and artist. Nevertheless, to the statistician this table will prove nothing, for the method of classification is too loose and the numbers are in several cases so small that the variations of sampling might well account for the whole of the observed differences. But take it as it is. The one group of pronounced blondness includes the political agitators. Surely this evidence of Nordic pre-eminence cannot give much comfort to Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, though it may help to account for some of our American bred "Bolsheviks" such as "Big Bill" Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. It is surprising, in view of the Anglo-Saxon traditions of England,

to find that the hereditary aristocracy is prevailingly brunet, and that the royal family is about fifty-fifty. It is almost more surprising, in view of the assumed inherent superiority of blond stocks, to find that the created peers and their sons, or those rising from the commonalty to aristocracy, were also more frequently dark than light; and that the men of low birth who succeeded in getting their portraits into this famous Gallery were twice as often dark as light. Explorers can hardly be excluded from the "restless and ambitious"; nor can actors and actresses be ranked high among "the men of thought"; the men of science, who were slightly more blond, are off-set by the men and women of letters, who were slightly more brunet. Unfortunately we do not have the traits associated with complexion in these cases. If we had we should doubtless find that not all the blonds were Nordic throughout. Perhaps the truest observation that can be made of this table is that, so far as it proves anything, it proves that leaders in every branch of national activity have come from both blond and brunet ancestry. Even among the soldiers there are twenty brunets and twenty-two blonds. It is a fair guess that practically all of the list were more or less obvious hybrids. Nothing could show more clearly the mixed character of the English population and the present impossibility of attributing English character or English institutions to one of the racial ingredients.

With these facts before us, we can see that the British population, relatively free from the intrusion of new elements during the past ten centuries or more, is more homogeneous to-day than at any time in this long period. Tribal lines long since disappeared and amalgamation of all elements has made steady progress. The more dense black belts have been lightened and the whiter areas have been darkened, so that the population gradually reveals the multifarious blendings possible in a multi-hybrid mixture. But ancient types still persist and the total range of variation is apparently still wide enough to include all the elements that have ever entered into the composition.[23] Professor Aleš Hrdlička concludes that, as regards pigmentation, the English show

[23] Professor Aleš Hrdlička, *The Old Americans*, Baltimore, 1925, p. 52.

less blending than the native Americans. If isolation could be enforced for another thousand years or more it might then be possible to speak of them as the British race. But to-day they must be considered a people; and there is every prospect that they will never approach that homogeneity which would warrant the application to them of a racial name.

It is worth while to apply some of these considerations to the Anglo-Saxon tradition as popularly held in this country. We have seen that Madison Grant, after picturing the Nordic as a pure race of definite type, declared that the United States was settled by the veritable aristocracy of this noble breed, the Anglo-Saxons. One was led to suppose that the Old American stock was a pure blond, long-headed race of great stature. This nonsense has been taken up by Burr, Gould and many others, as already indicated. Hrdlička's recently published results of certain studies of this stock are painstaking and authoritative.[24] He studied some hundreds of men and women selected at random from those "who in their families had no mixture with more recent elements on either side for at least three generations," that is, persons all four of whose grandparents were born in this country.

For skin-color he studied 200 males and 250 females unselected and concluded that "two-thirds of the old-stock males and three-fourths of the females show skin that may be classed as medium," in a scale of four grades: "Light"; "Medium"; "Swarthy"; and "Scotch" or "Freckley, otherwise Medium." The swarthy group included 27.5 per cent of the males and 16.8 per cent of the females; the "Scotch" group, 4.5 per cent of the males and 2.8 per cent of the females. Only .5 per cent of the men and 5.2 per cent of the women were classed as light-skinned; these had also light or red hair and light eyes, showing that a light skin carries with it light shades of hair and eye-color. The swarthy skinned per-

[24] "Physical Anthropology of the Old Americans," *Amer. Jour. of Phys. Anthrop.* vol. 5, 1922, pp. 97–142 and pp. 209–35; *Old White Americans,* Washington, D. C., 1917; "Pigmentation in the Old Americans, with Notes on Graying and Loss of Hair," *Annual Report,* Smithsonian Institution, 1921, Washington, D. C., 1922. These and other results have since been published in his *The Old Americans,* Baltimore, 1925.

sons likewise showed a high correlation of skin-color with shades of hair and eyes but with a wider range of variation in these traits. While there were no swarthy skins with blond hair, there were a number with light brown hair; but about one-fourth had medium brown and 72 per cent had dark brown or black hair. The eyes of this swarthy group revealed almost universal hybridism, as follows: 56.7 per cent blue, grey or greenish, mixed; 10.3 per cent light brown; 25.8 per cent medium brown; and only 7.2 per cent dark brown.

As to hair-color he found the distribution shown in the accompanying percentage table based on a study of 1009 males and 914 females:

HAIR COLOR OF OLD AMERICANS

Sex	Lights Proper	Light Brown (Not Blond)	Medium	Dark	Black	Reds
Males	5.3	16.0	50.0	25.0	1.1	2.6
Females	6.9	14.2	42.9	29.8	1.3	4.9

In this table "Lights Proper" includes "Blond," "Golden, or Yellow," and "Light Brown (near Blond)." "Dark" includes dark browns and near blacks. It is obvious that neither blond nor black hair is common, though "Dark" shades are more frequent than light browns. There is a wider variation among the females than among the males, that is, there is a somewhat larger proportion of the extreme shades, blond, dark, black and red. Males are somewhat more intermediate. This may indicate a greater persistence of ancestral traits among females. Taken all together these individuals constitute a fair sample of the Old American stock of the eastern part of the United States. Those from the South showed fewer blonds and more darks than those from New England, but taken in regional groups or together they furnish no basis for the assumption that Nordic blondness is characteristic of this stock at the present time. As Hrdlička says: "The Old Americans are, so far as hair color is concerned, only exceptionally blond, but commonly medium to brunet." Indeed, a comparison

of available data for pigmentation of British, Scandinavian, Danish and French populations shows that the British and native American populations "are very distinct and far apart from the Nordics."[25]

As to eye-color alone: nearly one-third (31 per cent) of the males and one-fourth (24.1 per cent) of the females were found to have pure light eyes; one-sixth (16.5 per cent) of the males and one-fifth (20 per cent) of the females had pure (light, medium, or dark) brown eyes; while more than one-half of each sex had eyes of "mixed" color, that is, eyes in which the brown pigment is imperfectly distributed or unevenly blended. Here is clear evidence of extensive hybridization.

The author combined hair- and eye-color to discover the proportions of blonds and brunets as these terms are ordinarily employed. He classed as "Pure Blonds" "persons who have flaxen, blond, golden, yellow, or light brown (near blond) hair, with pure (unmixed) light eyes." "Ordinary Blonds" included these and all other persons with distinctly light hair and eyes, while both the "Pure" and "Ordinary" were in turn included in the "Fair" group which comprised "all those who have hair lighter than medium (including all reds except those of the darkest shades), with light eyes."

At the opposite extreme were the brunets. The "True Brunets" comprised "those with dark to black hair and medium to dark brown eyes." "Apparent Brunets" included the "True Brunets" and all others with dark to black hair regardless of eye-color. The remainder were classed as "Intermediates."

The percentage table follows:

OLD AMERICANS: BLONDS AND BRUNETS

Sex	Pure Blonds	Ordinary Blonds	Fair	Pure Brunets	Apparent Brunets	Intermediates
Males (1009)	3	5	21	6.5	26	53
Females (914)	3.5	6.5	24	11.0	31	46

In so far as these figures are typical they show that about half the Old Americans are intermediates and considerably more than

[25] *The Old Americans*, p. 54.

a quarter are brunets. Pure blonds are exceptional; even "ordinary" blonds are only 1 in 16 to 20, while about 1 in 6 among the males and 1 in 9 among the females is a "pure" brunet.

In all respects these results show a striking resemblance to those of Beddoe, Parsons, and James and Fleure for pigmentation of the British population. The latter show more blonds, more brunets and fewer intermediates than the Old Americans. There is throughout clear evidence of much commingling of types, with indications of greater approach toward homogeneity among Americans than among British. There is no ground whatever for the claim that the Old American stock was overwhelmingly blond. Even if one allows for a certain deepening of pigment in the hybrid population in the last two hundred or more years in consequence of a certain dominance of darker shades over lighter in the crosses (though we have seen that the light eye shows a remarkable tendency to persist), and perhaps also in consequence of climatic effects, there is no basis for the claim either of peculiar blondness or of race purity. Quite the contrary. It is not improbable, however, that had the immigration of the last two hundred years been prevented, the American people would have acquired a certain degree of specialization through selection and a high degree of homogeneity through intermarriage; but we should all have been hybrids and should have carried the evidence of our hybridism, as most of us do anyway, in our faces.

We have reported sufficient of Hrdlička's results to show in statistical form what might have been anticipated, namely, that the Old Americans were much mixed and as a rule far from the Nordic type. Even as regards the cephalic index he found that brachycephalic heads (index 80 and over) were distinctly more numerous than dolichocephalic (index under 75). While 16.6 per cent of the males had long heads, 21.7 per cent had round heads; and while 8.1 per cent of the females had long heads, 41.9 per cent had round heads. The remainder were mesocephalic (index 75 to 80).[26] In view of this wide diversity, again comparable to that of the British Isles, there is no way to make certain of the inclusion of the American population within the confines

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

of Nordicism except to adopt the Chamberlainian anthropology described in earlier pages.

We may note in passing that these evidences of the racial heterogeneity of British and American populations disposes of the notion which is frequently expressed by enthusiastic partisans of inherent Anglo-Saxon superiority that these peoples represent a "pure-bred" stock of high specificity, just as do strains of domesticated animals. If one may judge by their physical traits the Old Americans were a distinctly hybrid stock, if one thinks in terms of the three primary European races. This stock was undoubtedly more or less highly selected for physical soundness, mental vigor and steadfastness of purpose by the conditions attending colonization. It was also favored by abundant food, an invigorating climate and a stimulating economic situation, all of which have benefited its development. That it was deficient in some of the artistic and imaginative powers necessary for the highest type of culture seems to be indicated by its history to date. In this again it is like the British population from which it drew most heavily. One may add that the blending of the racial elements contained in the original settlers was distinctly good; but it would appear that the addition of new racial elements by recent immigration, while making us even more hybrid, will also make us more versatile in creative genius.

At the risk of some tediousness it seems worth while to note that as regards the popular tendency to identify race and nation, the facts for continental Europe are similar to those for Britain. France, no less than Germany and northern Italy, has been a common meeting ground of the three primary European stocks, plus various other Palæolithic stocks which may have survived. Thus, the Mediterraneans constituted the indigenous element and now dominate in the south of France. The Alpines penetrated clear across the Alps to Brittany and to-day are dominant among the Savoyards, the Auvergnats, and the Bretons or Armoricans. The Nordics or Baltics, as Goths, Normans, Saxons, Teutons, Franks and Bergundians, all of them already highly hybridized, crossed France from north to south within recent times. One Teutonic tribe gave its name to the country; down to the early Middle Ages

France was predominantly Germanic in language and customs; and to-day the Germanic elements predominate over other ethnic stocks in considerable areas in the north, south and west. In consequence, Dominian,[27] after a careful and judicious study, is able to say that some parts of France are to-day more Teutonic than certain parts of Germany.

If the population of Germany is less composite in certain areas than that of France, it is equally so in many others. A relative purity of Germanic elements along the Baltic and North Seas (but mixed even there with Slavic Poles and Wends) gradually gives way to the southward to an increasing complexity in which Alpine and Mediterranean elements increase. The entire area covered by modern France and Germany has been the battle ground of tribes and races for the last 25,000 years. It has been repeatedly over-run by new conquerors and passing military adventurers who have temporarily or permanently mingled their blood with that of the indigenous population.

It is not true to fact, therefore, to regard England as an Anglo-Saxon nation, nor France as a Celtic one, nor Germany as a Teutonic one, in any sense approximating the Burgess concept. It is meaningless to call the Germans *in toto* "barbarous Huns," to attribute to all Frenchmen, Celtic heroism, to all Englishmen, Anglo-Saxon pluck and "silent strength," or to all Americans, Yankee shrewdness, energy and inventiveness. Aside from the impropriety of the use of the racial adjectives in such connections, it should be obvious that barbarism is not the special attribute of any great political people any more than heroism and pluck, bulldog tenacity or artistic temperament are monopolized by special ethnic sections of the human breed. Such traits are certain to be manifested by some individuals in all groups under certain circumstances; and in any time or place the individual manifestations of a particular mental or moral trait by population are likely to be distributed, like their heights, after the manner of the bell-shaped curve of probability.

[27] Leon Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, New York, 1917.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE

At the same time, it is expedient on occasion to think of certain national groups in terms of their predominant physical or mental traits. There are to be sure tall, red-haired, blue-eyed and freckled-faced Italians and short, black-haired, brown-eyed Swedes, but the typical Italian, i. e., the modal Italian or the one most frequently seen, is readily distinguishable from the average Swede. This would mean merely that *on an average* Swedes are taller and blonder than Italians. This would not prevent some Italians being taller than some Swedes or vice versa; and it would be quite erroneous to think of Swedes as endowed with stature while Italians had no stature at all. Similarly as regards mental and moral traits. The phlegmatic Finn may be constrasted with the excitable Spaniard, or the somewhat sombre, steady-going Swede with the sanguine, temperamental Negro. But these are only rough generalizations which imply differences of degree only and never differences of kind, differences moreover, in which hereditary and environmental influences are hopelessly merged. Such characterizations, however, represent the population mode; they are useful for the sake of brevity. While they are wholly unrepresentative of large portions of the population within a given geographical area and may prove to be mischievous concepts when applied unreservedly to political nations, they suggest the question whether there may not be some connection between racial proportions and the prevailing political temper of a people.

We have rejected the theories of various racialists on this question on account of their inconsistencies both with themselves and with well-authenticated facts. The problem is, in fact, insoluble at present for several reasons. As already indicated, national character is itself far from consistent. The America of Wash-

ington and the Federalists was scarcely the America of Jackson and the western Democrats. Different classes or factions having essentially similar racial composition will have different political ideals and policies. As they alternate in power there appear to be alterations in national character. Just as there are changes in economic conditions from prosperity to depression and in religious conditions from periods of faith, revivalism and "great awakenings" to periods of doubt, skepticism, rationalism and "great enlightenment," so there are changes in political attitudes, methods and policies from war to peace, from dominance of landlord or capitalist to dominance of peasant or worker.

Thus, in popular thought and ancient tradition nothing seems more obvious than the differences in "political capacity" between the "Anglo-Saxon" Englishman and the "Celtic" Irishman. But anthropology destroys one's sense of confidence in such facile explanations by declaring that Irish and Anglo-Saxon are one in race. "Of all the inhabitants of the British Isles the Irish may be regarded as the purest representatives of the North Sea or Nordic stock." [28] Such a statement would apply to the blond type of Irish only, but they must certainly be regarded as good exemplars of the Nordic type, as good as any in western Europe. The political differences between English and Irish are not to be explained simply by differences of race but by differences in racial composition, in geographical conditions, and in cultural history. No doubt differences of race and geography were factors in developing the differences of cultural history, but there were many other factors, such as differences in isolation from or contact with the main streams of culture, absentee landlordism, Catholicism, popular ignorance and superstition, political experience and political exigency, migration, famine and exploitation which account for much. At the same time one cannot overlook the fact that the proportions of Nordics, Mediterraneans and prehistoric types are not the same among the English, the Scotch and the Irish. It may then be presumed that there is not among these peoples exactly the same hereditary distribution of those mental and moral traits which influence political reactions.

[28] Arthur Keith, *Race and Nationality*, p. 36.

Something similar seems highly probable in the contrast of nations which are predominantly Slavic, Iberic, or Teutonic. In such cases a certain racial type is present in sufficient proportion in one nation as contrasted with others to lend high probability to the inference that this type has had a more marked influence on the cultural development of this nation than upon other nations where the same type is much less numerous. A forceful, highly endowed minority may also account for much. The main thesis of this book is that while all human qualities are found among all races of men they are found in varying degrees. This means for the point at hand that, while almost every type of political behavior is possible for any nation, some types of behavior are easier for some nations than for others. That is, although a sluggish nation may be made to move rapidly if the stimulus be powerful enough, it will customarily move slowly while another moves rapidly through the whole gamut of political attitudes from adulation to hatred.

Moreover, in comparing such sharply contrasted races as Philippine Negritoes and Nordic Europeans we may safely assume that the statistical distribution of politically significant traits is sufficiently different to make substantial differences in political behavior. There will be differences as regards both temperamental qualities and intelligence. Both types of difference will affect the development of political organization and tradition which in turn become primary factors in political behavior at any given moment. But the intelligence level is more important than temperament since it determines the frequency of superior leaders. It is these latter who shape political organization and tradition and determine policies in great crises.

In other words, the particular proportion of the constituent elements in the racial composition of different nations is one of the factors affecting their political and cultural history. What the weight to be attributed to any particular racial element, what degree of heterogeneity serves as a social stimulant, and at what point increasing heterogeneity becomes detrimental, are obviously moot questions. Also problematical is the relative weight to be attributed to physiographic conditions, economic institutions, individ-

ual genius, cultural contacts and the mysterious element called "general cultural trend" as factors in the development of political institutions. We conclude, therefore, that political nation and race cannot be identified; that all nations are highly mixed and most of their inhabitants, hybrids. But we do not also conclude that race is of no significance for political or cultural evolution, but only that this significance cannot as yet be intelligently weighed. Both inherent intelligence and temperament will affect political organization and history; especially important is difference in the frequency of superior leaders, for these affect the extent to which cultural opportunities of all kinds are exploited and these in turn react on the evolution of political institutions.

CHAPTER VI

ARE RACES EQUAL?

We come then to the much discussed question whether the races are equal. That physical differences exist is a theorem implied in the very concept of race. If there are physical differences one seems on safe ground in inferring that there must be mental differences also. Mental powers represent the functioning of brain and nerve tissue, and it is not to be supposed that these would have remained identical from race to race while other physical traits were undergoing diverse evolutionary changes.

At the beginning of the discussion of this question we will do well to recall the long period of time which has elapsed since the separation of the original humanoid stem into those branches along which evolved the existing types of man. No informed scholar puts the time of this separation nearer than several hundred thousands of years; it may well have been much longer. Since that time the evolutionary development of the races has been along more or less divergent lines. Whether the original ancestral stock divided at one time under the influence of some climatic crisis into several groups each of which went its own way or whether there were separations from the common ancestral stock at different times is, of course, not known. In any case, it seems certain that the biological history of the different types is extremely diverse. The existing differences imply mutational changes of more or less moment. The rôle of physiographic selection may be exaggerated by certain professional geographers, but there is an abundance of evidence of such selection with consequent adaptation to specialized environmental conditions.[29] This point

[29] See Ripley, *op. cit.*, Chap. XXI; Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, New York, 1915; *World Power and Evolution*, New York, 1919, especially Chaps. IX and X; and *The Character of Races*, New York, 1925. Professor Huntington's books are brilliant and suggestive, but not always conclusive.

is universally admitted on the basis of such differences as exist between negro and white, Nordic and Mediterranean, Andean Indian and natives of the Orinoco valley.

Two inferences follow. In the first place it is not demonstrated that all varieties of men belong to the same species. It is generally agreed that, e. g., *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* represent different species (it is possible *Homo rhodesiensis* may prove to be still different), while *Pithecanthropus erectus* is quite distinct from all of these. Moreover, the greatest discoveries in this field still remain to be made. (Has not Professor Osborn recently identified a new race of man on the basis of a fossil Nebraska tooth, which an eminent British palæontologist declared the remains of a pliocene bear!) This alone should make one wary of such loose reasoning as the following: all men belong to the same species and hence all are equal. The old theory of inter-specific sterility has broken down. There are cases of intra-specific sterility among plants; and many animals are classed in different species, and even in different genera, though mutually fertile on crossing.

In the second place, the long period of differentiation has made possible a very considerable differentiation of type. Even if all existing races belong to the same species, the differences between the African pygmies and the blond Europeans are sufficiently striking. As Professor Samuel J. Holmes[30] remarks: "Few species of organisms present so great a variety of hereditarily diverse strains as our own. And if we divide *Homo sapiens* into several distinct species, the same statement would apply to each of the component groups." Professor H. G. F. Spurrell[31] speaks similarly: "The branches of the human race to-day are separated by peculiarities developed, in far distant parts of the world, to adapt them to peculiar conditions." Hence result differences in climatic adjustment, susceptibility to fatigue, resistance to diseases, and even cultural achievements.

[30] *The Trend of the Race,* New York, 1921, pp. 5–6.

[31] *Modern Man and His Forerunners. A Short Study of the Human Species Living and Extinct,* London, 1917, pp. 4–5.

Professor Keith [32] lays stress on the effects of group feeling or "racial instinct" in producing and enforcing that isolation and segregation of ethnic groups which inevitably resulted in the differentiation and fixation of types. This is a highly important form of the consciousness of kind, enforcing marriages along lines of racial and cultural homogeneity. It takes the form of pride of family, caste exclusiveness and sentiments of race pride and superiority. In the modern nation it expands into the magical sentiment of patriotism which makes black and white, blond and brunet, one, because all are Americans. But in that long, long period of racial isolation preceding the present era of varied racial contacts it made for sharpness of ethnic differentiation. It is true as Darwin declared in the *Descent of Man* that the varieties of mankind are so distinct that similar differences found in any other animal would warrant their classification in different species, if not in different genera.

As we have seen in our discussion of the concept of race, the essential nature of race differences is one of differences in the mathematical proportions of the individual variations of which each is composed. Fundamentally, racial differences are not those of kind but of degree; not those of quality but of quantity. And so it is with racial inferiority and superiority. It is sometimes argued that races are to all intents and purposes equal because they overlap through most of the range of their respective variations. When two groups are measured as regards any trait they are almost certain to overlap, because all members are human. It is conceivable that they might even overlap throughout the whole range of variation, but show different proportions in the statistical distribution. Their differences must be those of quantity and hence that group which shows the greater average or the greater frequencies in the upper ranges of the variations must be looked upon as the superior, *with reference to the particular quality in question.* This same group may be inferior with respect to some other quality. On this basis it is perfectly logical to speak of superior and inferior races, but the trait or quality to which the superiority applies should be indicated. We thus guard against

[32] *Race and Nationality from the Viewpoint of an Anthropologist.*

the error of assuming a general or universal superiority with respect to all human traits, though it is quite evident that the superiority of one race over another may apply to those traits which are most important for the development of an advanced culture.

It may be noted in passing that this conception of racial differences is applicable in the comparison of any two or more human groups of similar category, as sex, age, school grade, occupation, or what not. Thus those differences revealed by the educational psychologists in the study of classes in the public schools are of this sort. Sixth grade pupils will be taller, heavier, chronologically older, and of higher intelligence quotient than the pupils of the fifth grade. This superiority shows itself first, in the average values for the traits measured and secondly, in the different frequencies of each grade throughout the range of distribution. With respect to every trait grades five and six will show much overlapping, but superiority and inferiority will reveal themselves in the only possible manner, namely, quantitatively.

Social classes reveal differences of the same quantitative sort. Galton long ago remarked on the superior physique of proprietors and men in authority. The army psychologists found a gradation of intelligence scores in relation to occupation.[33] Thus mechanical draftsmen are clearly superior in general intelligence rating to general machinists, and these latter to barbers and teamsters. Each group varies more or less widely but there is a difference in the modal tendency and in the relative frequencies at the upper and lower limits of the range of variation. We avoid here the question as to how far the differences revealed were due to heredity as against environment; nor do we assert that the numerical results there secured represent finality. But we cite them as illustrating the manner in which hereditary differences of class and race should be conceived. The chart on p. 829 of the army report may be looked upon as a type chart showing the gradations of differences of comparable groups. One is impressed with the fact that there is here an arrangement in a stratified hierarchy with much overlapping and with the obvious possibility

[33] *Memoirs, National Academy of Sciences,* vol. 15, pp. 819–37.

of moving the majority of individuals from one group to the next higher or lower.

Much the same relationship of social classes on a more inclusive basis of classification is shown in Terman's study of the relative frequency in which professional, semi-professional and business, skilled labor, semi-skilled and common labor groups produce gifted children. The Barr Scale of Occupational Intelligence [34] reproduced by Terman in the same connection suggests a long series of closely overlapping curves. That is, one may consider numerous groups of individuals ranging from hoboes, odd-job men, and garbage collectors on the one extreme to research leaders, surgeons and inventive geniuses on the other. Each category would be distributed about an intelligence level norm with a greater or smaller range of variability; there would be much overlapping of one group over its near neighbors; and, while the order might not be conclusive in the present state of knowledge, there could be no doubt that the existence of a hierarchy of natural intelligence is roughly expressed by some such occupational stratification. The wide divergences between the rankings of occupations by the army psychologists and by Barr clearly indicate that any such scheme is still highly unreliable, but there seems no ground for doubting that day laborers are inferior as a class to barbers or telephone operators, and plumbers to mechanical engineers. We could graphically represent this class-intelligence stratification by a series of curves similar to those used on an earlier page to represent Japanese and American statures. Only in this case the range of variation of each occupational group would be relatively narrow. In the same manner we conceive the various races of men to be arranged as regards any specific trait which lends itself to measurement; we would here include not only stature, cephalic index, brain size and other physical traits, but sensory powers and general intelligence; but we should wish to insist that methods of studying the mental endowments of races are still far from perfect.

Superiority or inferiority in this sense cannot, therefore, be imputed to an individual merely because he belongs to the superior

[34] L. M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius,* vol. 1, Stanford Univ. Press, 1925, pp. 64 and 66 *et seq.*

or the inferior group. He may be a superior in his own group but still inferior to the average of another group. Italians as a group are shorter than Scotchmen as a group, but some Italians are taller than some Scotchmen. Negroes as a race may be inferior in general intelligence to whites, but certain negroes are distinctly superior to most whites. Similarly, in the comparison of all groups which are more or less homogeneous, the treatment of individuals on the basis of individual merit requires that they be considered as individuals rather than as undifferentiated members of a group. This is the principal fallacy in all that vast literature of Aryanism in all its forms which imputes to individuals a superiority derived from racial or group superiority. Even if we may assume that the so-called Nordics as a racial group excel in aggressiveness and adventuresomeness, these qualities cannot be attributed to all Nordics any more than tallness can be attributed to all Scotchmen. Moreover, there would be found among the races that ranked lowest in aggressiveness—if we had some way of finding out such races—individuals who would be superior in this trait to many Nordics.

When the logic of such facts is fully understood, the difficulties of proving or disproving racial equality or racial difference by the citation of isolated individual cases will be clearly appreciated. Such cases may prove nothing as to the generality of cases; they are usually exceptions to the rule. They vary widely from the average or typical case. It then becomes a question of the relative fecundity of compared groups in individuals of such exceptional quality. But this is a question which cannot be accurately answered apart from a knowledge of what constitutes the normal distribution of the trait or quality throughout its entire range, or at least the upper half of it.

All of which has an important bearing also on a contention of those whom McDougall has not inaptly called in very Englishy English the "race-slumpers," namely, the contention that racial differences can be neglected because the variations within any race are much greater than the differences between the averages of races. This contention centers the attention on the great amount of overlapping of two races; it emphasizes their similarity. No

doubt most people will find it important to discover and appreciate this similarity as a counter influence to the popular assumption that racial differences are gross and obvious. But this overlapping is after all but the expression of the underlying humanity of all races of men. It should be obvious and taken for granted. It results from the fact that all races have evolved from a single human stem, if we go back far enough along the tree of life. But a full and clear understanding of the whole matter requires a recognition of differences as well as equalities. It is exactly the same between races as between individuals. The democratic theory contends for equality and emphasizes the similarities among men, extols the essential humanness of everybody. Social ideals and policies growing out of the doctrines of egalitarianism have been conspicuous in the evolution of western culture during the past century and a half.

But individual differences remain. In spite of heroic efforts to equalize objective conditions, inequalities of individual achievement are as great as before; they are in some respects much greater. Moreover, and this is the main point, if one is considering relative achievements whether in intellectual or artistic eminence, political power or financial accumulation and prestige, he must give a large, and in fact a predominant, rôle to inborn differences among men. The studies of Thorndike, Starch, Terman and Pyle show that the more highly endowed individuals learn most rapidly and continue to improve longest.[35] The previously cited results of the army psychologists as to the relation of general intelligence to vocational achievements indicate that society is stratified along several major and many minor planes, within each of which will be found a greater or smaller range of individual variations. All men are alike in being human, but no two are alike as regards that whole complex of qualities—intellectual, emotional and physical—which determine their reactions to and their utilization of environmental conditions.

[35] E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology,* New York, 1913–14, vol. 3, especially Chap. XI; L. M. Terman, *The Intelligence of School Children,* Boston, 1919; Daniel Starch, *Educational Psychology,* New York, 1919, especially Chap. VI; W. H. Pyle, *The Psychology of Learning,* Baltimore, 1921.

This is a perfect analogy for racial groups. They are all human, but in considering the special rôle of particular racial factors in cultural evolution, it is often their differences that require emphasis rather than their similarities. The majority of one race may be compared individually with the majority of another so that the variations in one are exactly equal in amount though not in relative frequency to the like variations in the other. The differences between the averages of the two races may be relatively small in comparison with the whole range of variation in which some of one are like some of the other. But, as regards cultural capacities, it is the relative proportions of the two groups in the upper ranges of abilities and the relative maxima attained by their highest specimens which are of importance. One can perfectly well illustrate the point by citing different stirps within our own community. The Nam family, the Jukes, the Ishmaelites, represent tribes within the American environment. The members of each vary much one from another; the differences between the mental average for any one of them and that of the American population as a whole would be only a fraction of the whole range of variations within any tribe or within the American population. At the upper range of variation of the American population will be found various stirps, such as the Edwardses, the Adamses, the Lees, the Abbotts and many others who through many generations in spite of some inevitable tendency to panmixia have produced distinguished persons with notable frequency. As determined by their relative fecundity in superior individuals, the difference in the capacity for cultural achievement of the first-named tribes and of the American population in general is enormous. This difference is still greater if they be contrasted with the last-named families. It is so great, in fact, that these tribes live in a state of backwardness and simplicity that makes them appear like aborigines, though they are surrounded by a high and complex culture. The Jukes and their ilk not only do not contribute to the culture surrounding them; they can only feebly imitate its grosser aspects. The Edwardses and others at the opposite extreme not only absorb the best of the cultural medium in which they live, but make numerous fresh contributions thereto.

The analogy is not far-fetched, although the average differences between races may be less than the differences between the averages of a very inferior strain in our own population and the general average of the American people. As Professor Lowie says in beginning a discussion of "Culture and Race":[36] "If culture is a complex of socially acquired traits, it might appear that race could not possibly have any influence on culture, since by racial characteristics we understand those which are innate by virtue of ancestry. This, however, by no means follows. In order that certain traits be acquired, a certain type of organic basis is an absolute prerequisite; a chimpanzee or a bat is not able to acquire human culture through social environment. . . . There was, undoubtedly, some stage of human evolution where the organic basis for culture had not yet been acquired." The significance of such statements can be realized when it is remembered that the original differentiations of major varieties of man must have occurred some hundreds of thousands of years ago. During this long period, mutation, hybridization, isolation, and selection have produced many extinct forms of man as well as the whole range of existing forms. It is fanciful to assume that psychic traits and capacities would have remained equal in all these forms in spite of differences in their biological history. Such an assumption is preposterous in view of the great and obvious differentiation of physical traits. It can hardly be assumed that nervous systems, the functionings of which constitute psychic traits and capacities, must have remained equal and uniform throughout the human breed when other physical traits have passed through such varied steps of evolutionary change. It would hardly be assumed that *Pithecanthropus erectus,* presumably lacking in powers of articulate speech, could have developed by his own initiative, or even acquired by imitation, even a low form of human culture. It is not at all probable that aboriginal Australians, extinct Tasmanians, African Bushmen, and other most backward aborigines could have achieved or even imitated in all aspects the varied culture of Greece, of the Italian Renaissance, or of any modern nation.

It is not necessary to assume, as many have, that evolutionary

[36] Robert H. Lowie, *Culture and Ethnology,* New York, 1917, p. 27.

change would require that the races be placed in a series along some single line of evolution. Professor Boas has successfully combatted this assumption.[37] Certain it is that existing races have not evolved from one another. They represent the outer branches of a huge tree of life of which the main branches separated from the main trunk, some sooner than others, but all long ages ago. As indicated above, the biological descent of present man has been along many lines of divergent evolution, with repeated crossings between lines more or less related. It must be concluded, on *a priori* grounds, that there is no group of traits with reference to which two racial types would be identical both as regards average attainment and as regards proportions of distribution throughout the whole range of variations. Thus, Boas points out that the negro is closest to the anthropoid in prognathism, physiognomy, broadness and flatness of nose, and size of brain, but is farthest from the anthropoid in thickness and redness of lips and length of arms and legs. Another illustration of the same principle is found in Pearson's study of the similarities and dissimilarities of the femur in man and the anthropoids.[38] The evolution has been divergent rather than unilateral.

And because all races are thus grouped about a human center, we have numerous pious wishers filled with humanitarian sentiment drawing the conclusion that all races of men must be considered equal. As Professor A. F. Chamberlain, a student and ardent disciple of Professor Boas, rhapsodically puts it: "The divine artist who is to make music out of the present discord of the races of men, may seem to linger, but his coming is sure." [39] But this matter is not so simple. The assertion that the evolutionary development of human types has been divergent and that, therefore, the negro is closest to the anthropoid in some respects and the white and yellow closest in other respects, does not warrant the conclusion that differences should be neglected but rather that they

[37] Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man,* New York, 1911, pp. 20–4.

[38] Karl Pearson, "Side Lights on the Evolution of Man," *Eugenics Laboratory Lecture Series,* No. xiii, London, 1920.

[39] "The Contribution of the Negro," *Jour. of Race Develop't.,* vol. 1, 1910–11, p. 50.

should be carefully and specifically inquired into. Thus, it is obvious that for cultural evolution, the thick red lips of the negro in which he is more divergent from the pre-humans than the white are less significant than his smaller brain in which he is less divergent. Many of the traits which are quite distinctive, such as color or waviness of hair, skin- and eye-color, cannot be said to be more conducive to intellectual superiority when in one form than when in another. At least one can see no reason why persons with wavy hair should on an average be more highly endowed with artistic ability than persons with straight hair. No doubt most of these traits represent subtle responses of the organism to environmental stimuli and selection and many of them are thus probably associated with acclimatization and with range of climatic toleration; but whether they are linked in inheritance in a Mendelian sense with mental or character differences is as yet unknown.

For all such traits superiority or inferiority would depend solely on what constituted the criterion of judgment. Thus the negro is superior to the white in his physiological adaptation to torrid climatic conditions, while the yellow is similarly superior to both in the range of his climatic adaptability. The crucial question is, therefore, the extent and nature of the differences between races with respect to those qualities which are important for the higher cultural activities. It is the same question that must be answered as regards vocational groups in a society. All approved activities may be useful, but some are "higher" than others. What makes them "higher"? Two conditions; (1) they contribute most to the advancement of the arts and sciences, and (2) they are relatively scarce.

The argument concerning the equality of races up to this point may be summarized under the following statements: (1) Since all men are human and all races possess all human traits, every comparison of races must be made on the basis of racial norms or averages and the range of variation thereabout. (2) Racial differences are, consequently, those of relative quantitative frequency in a statistical distribution, rather than differences of kind. They are differences of degree only. (3) In the sense that one

race manifests a given trait with greater frequency or in more extensive development it is proper to speak of that race as superior to others with respect to that trait. As stated elsewhere:[40] "Inferiority and superiority as here used are primarly statistical concepts. . . . They imply, as regards hereditary traits, a *tendency* on the part of one group to manifest the measured trait in a form of distribution characteristically different from the other. Thus, there is an hereditary tendency for the Scotch to produce tall individuals more frequently than the Italians. This is a characteristic racial difference of an hereditary sort. Likewise it seems to be demonstrated that native white Americans produce persons gifted mentally more frequently than native colored Americans. This is also an hereditary tendency of the groups as wholes and capable of determination only by exact statistical methods and expressible only in statistical terminology.

"It cannot be emphasized too strongly that superiority or inferiority as here applied to a race cannot without special inquiry be inferred of a particular individual of that race. . . . Science, democratic faith, and humanitarian sentiment join in not condemning a man on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

(4) The physical differences of races are more or less obvious and may be explained by the long period of time since the original human stem began to differentiate, bringing it about that different human types have lived for many thousands of years under different climatic and other selective conditions. (5) On *a priori* grounds there is every reason for supposing that mental powers and character traits have undergone a differentiation comparable to that of the physical traits.

We come then to the vexed question of the mental differences. This is in fact the crux of the whole problem of racial equality or racial superiorities or inferiorities. In approaching it we lay down several additional considerations. In the first place, just as there appears to be little difference in the sensory powers of persons of low-grade mentality when compared with those of high

[40] F. H. Hankins, "Individual Differences and Their Significance for Social Theory," *Pubs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, vol. 17, 1922, pp. 34–5.

mentality, so in the comparison of races we shall not expect to find the differences in sensory powers as great as those in the higher mental processes. As stated in the article just referred to: "Before the advent of present methods of mental testing there had been a number of notable attempts to measure the abilities of different racial stocks by approved psychometric methods. In 1910 Professor Woodworth summarized the previous work, especially that of Professor Rivers with the Torres Straits natives, and added the results of his own experiments with several groups of primitive peoples at the St. Louis Fair.[41] It should be emphasized that practically all these earlier studies had to do with the sensory-motor powers and gave little attention to the higher mental processes. Woodworth thought some differences in the average power of various senses not improbable, especially if one compare racial groups that 'are small, isolated and much inbred'; but he was more inclined to emphasize the overlapping than the differences and drew the general conclusion that 'on the whole, the keenness of the senses seems to be about on a par in the various races of mankind.'" [42] But he said: "As between whites, Indians, Eskimos, Ainus, Filipinos and Singhalese, the average differences were small and much overlapping occurred. As between these groups, however, and the Igorot and Negrito from the Philippines and a few reputed pygmies from the Congo, the average differences were great and the overlapping was small." [43] This last statement is indeed remarkable partly because it points to an even greater difference in the development of the higher mental powers and partly because any notable difference in sensory powers was hardly to be expected.

Our article continued: "As regards the higher powers he had only one slight bit of evidence. In the form-board and similar tests he found a striking difference between the pygmies, Igorotes, and Negritoes on the one hand, and the Filipinos, Ainus, Eskimos, Indians,

[41] R. W. Woodworth, "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Science*, (New Series), vol. 31, 1910, 171–86; see also his "Comparative Psychology of Races, *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 13, 1916, pp. 388–96.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

and whites on the other. Moreover, these latter ranked in an order of excellence corresponding to their respective cranial dimensions. This last was the only crumb of evidence the testing psychologist had then to offer on this vexed question.

"Since then there have been a number of studies of considerable significance. But before giving them a brief summary, another important point in the logic of the matter should be mentioned. It is obvious that easy tests will not serve to bring about a complete discrimination between lower and higher grades of ability. All men are human, and hence, just as all have some stature so all have some mental ability. If racial groups are tested on levels that all readily meet then they all appear alike. If all men are asked to jump hurdles that are passable for all, then all appear to be equal in power to hurdle. Here has been precisely the weakness of the early tests of racial mental differences. Tests dealing with the sensory-motor powers were not sufficiently discriminative as regards the reach of the higher mental capacities. Thus, in the measurement of the powers of persons of low as contrasted with those of high intelligence, a much greater difference between them is found as regards the higher mental processes than in tests of the senses."

There are many illustrations of this point in the literature of educational psychology. Thus G. M. Ruch [44] found that practice tended to reduce or even to eliminate individual differences with respect to simpler mental processes, but that it increased these differences with respect to the more complex processes; the superior profited more from practice both absolutely and relatively. This is clearly in harmony with the observations of any teacher: simple minds reach their limit and can go no further, while the able pupils can be taken along from step to step through the most difficult mental processes and gradually acquire a degree of skill that seems impossible to their less-gifted associates.

The point we here insist on is similar to that made by Dr. E. A. Goldenweiser in discussing the similar problem of the equality of the sexes. As has been frequently stated, the same logic applies to a consideration of sex as of race differences, for both are cate-

[44] "The Influence of the Factor of Intelligence on the Form of the Learning Curve," *Psych. Rev. Monog.*, vol. 1, 1923, No. 5.

gories of human groupings. In "Man the Creator" [45] Dr. Goldenweiser points out that nothing came of the comparisons of the sexes by laboratory tests of elementary sensory capacity, memory, attention, sensitiveness to pain, heat and cold, etc. Therefore, he chooses to compare them as to creative powers in the arts, literature, science, mathematics and philosophy. He even finds that in relatively simple societies woman made an impressive showing alongside her mate. "In evaluating these findings, however, it is important to take cognizance of the submergence of individual initiative by the tribal pattern. Imaginative flights being cut short by traditional norms, the individualism and subjectivism of modern art are here conspicuous by their absence." In other words, the more expansive powers of male man had less opportunity to manifest their full fruition so that the inherent differences of the sexes were less notable in primitive than in advanced societies.

This may seem like a curious point for one to make who has repeatedly defended the doctrines of the "race-slumpers," but it seems thoroughly sound and fits our argument at this point. We shall discover that the differences between white and negro, for example, are much greater with respect to the higher mental powers than for the sensory powers. It would seem that one might also infer from the logic of Dr. Goldenweiser's position that all those arguments tending to prove the equality of primitive with highly civilized peoples by noting their ingenious utilization of their physiographic environments come to naught. Because the Eskimos have worked out a truly remarkable adaptation to a difficult environment proves little or nothing as to their capacities for the art, science and philosophy which represent the rare but distinctive fruits of a very high culture.

To put the matter more simply and directly, the frequency of superior individuals born within the group is of the greatest significance for the rôle of that group in cultural evolution. These individuals are the natural leaders of the group. They represent its genius, its originating, pioneering, ruling, crowd-swaying individuals. It is their genius which molds the group folk-ways and mores, their inventive ability which solves the primary problems of

[45] *The Nation*, vol. 119, Dec. 10, 1924, pp. 622–4.

the practical arts, their statesmanship which holds the group together and enables it to meet the great exigencies of the intergroup struggle for domination and their creative genius which produces those rare flowers of culture,—scientific discovery, philosophical generalization and æsthetic masterpiece. Such men are always a very small proportion of any group, but as Professor Thorndike says, "The ability of a hundred of its most gifted representatives often accounts more for a nation's or a race's welfare than the ability of a million of its mediocrities." [46]

As a rule a higher average for any trait is accompanied in the same group by higher proportions in the upper ranges of the distribution. Higher general intelligence on the average for a group as a whole would thus be accompanied by a greater fecundity in those highly endowed individuals who are supremely important for the advancement of culture. Now a study of any tables or graphs showing the distribution of individual measurements for two groups will show that a small difference in the average and in the accompanying proportions of the upper ranges of the distribution will result in very great differences in the number of talented persons produced. Galton's standard for the "talented" was one in 4000 or about 250 per 1,000,000 of the English population. A very slight difference between two groups might readily make a distinction between many "talented" and no "talented" persons. When it is added that the higher ranges of human genius appear much less frequently than one in a million of those born, it is obvious that of two groups, much alike otherwise, one might occasionally produce men of the rank of Newton, Darwin, Goethe, Wagner or Pasteur and the other never. One might produce many men of conspicuous ability and the other few. In the long run one would produce cultural levels which the other could only feebly imitate.

We may now proceed to illustrate these points by a comparison of white and negro. It has often been noted that, although the negro has on many occasions lived in contact with centers of advanced culture or even in the midst of them, he has generally lagged behind the general level of such cultures while his contribu-

[46] *Educational Psychology,* New York, 1913–14, vol. 3, p. 210.

tions to them have been few and of a secondary order. In some cases his backwardness may be attributed in part to climatic resistance; in other cases, to social repression. But neither condition will account for the full difference between the response of the negro to cultural stimulation and the response of such peoples as the Japanese or the Jews. The contact of the former with western culture has been shorter in time than that of the American negro, but they have not only imitated it in manifold aspects,—they have modified, adapted and improved upon it and made contributions to one of its most difficult activities, scientific research. Moreover, these contributions, notably in the field of medical research and bacteriology, have been of the highest rank. The Jew, in spite of an almost universal anti-Semitism, has made remarkable contributions to every aspect of western culture. It is erroneous to think of the Jews as a race in any strict sense but they may be cited in this connection because they constitute a social group which in many times and places has been more vigorously hated than the negro in many parts of the United States during the last half century. The Jew has not only fought his own battle but he has "come back" with an almost obnoxious persistency and "nerve" after every rebuff. The names of the Mendelssohns, the Herschels, the Rothschilds, Heine, Brandes, Disraeli, among many others, show how diversified the Jewish contribution has been.

One cannot, therefore, explain the general backwardness of the negro by the lack of social opportunity. Had he been sufficiently gifted he would have made his opportunity somewhere in the midst of the existing cultural milieu. The cause is deeper and must be sought in differences of body and brain structure. We need not detail the bodily differences. The *Report of the Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War*[47] says: "A general comparative picture of the white and negro troops would show this: That the negro troops have relatively longer legs and arms, shorter trunk, narrower pelvis, more nearly circular ellipse of cross-section of chest, larger and shorter neck, more nearly parallel outlines of the trunk, larger leg girth (at thigh), and a greater weight than the whites. The negro seems

[47] Vol. 15, Part I, 1921, p. 40.

more powerfully developed from the pelvis down and the white more powerfully developed in the chest." This quotation is introduced here to emphasize the point that the divergence of the primary races has affected the entire physical structure. One could add to the above list differences in skull size and shape, nasal and alveolar indices, and so on through a long list of differences in thickness, size or shape of bones from skull cap to lower leg. Similarly one could point to differences in the development of the soft parts of the body, nose, lips and ears, in skin-color and structure, in hair-color and shape, in size of liver, kidneys, lungs, suprarenal glands, genital organs, length of intestine, etc.[48]

Some of these and other morphological differences are at the basis of physiological differences ranging all the way from climatic adaptation and resistance to specific diseases to nervous stability and temperament. Thus the report by A. G. Love and C. B. Davenport [49] finds the negro more susceptible to tuberculosis and pneumonia, but less susceptible to diphtheria, scarlet fever, German measles, influenza and all ordinary skin infections. He showed less tendency to neurasthenia, to eye and ear defects and to disturbances of bodily metabolism. They conclude that in many important respects the negro appears to be the better animal.

We pass then to a consideration of size and structure of brain since this is by far the most important difference in relation to cultural aptitudes. It is sometimes argued that size of brain has nothing to do with intelligence and in this connection several bits of evidence are always cited. There is on the one hand the case of the macrocephalous idiot, and on the other the distinguished man, as Gambetta, who had a small brain. To the statistically trained mind this kind of evidence proves nothing. More important are the oft-cited investigations by Karl Pearson [50] showing slight but not very significant correlation between size of head and

[48] See W. L. H. Duckworth, *Morphology and Anthropology.* Cambridge, 1904, *passim,* but especially pp. *372 et seq.*

[49] "A Comparison of White and Colored Troops in Respect of Incidence of Disease," *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.,* vol. 5, 1919, pp. 58–67.

[50] "On the Relationship of Intelligence to Size and Shape of Head and to Other Physical and Mental Characters," *Biometrica,* vol. 5, 1906–7, pp.

intelligence. Though based on 1000 Cambridge University students and 5000 school children, Pearson's studies lacked precision in that they involved no special technique for determining the mental level, that is, they made no effort to separate the factors of general intelligence from other factors determining grades or class standing. Certainly his investigations cannot rightly be cited, as they often are, as proving that there is no correlation between head size and intelligence. Similarly the study of Aberdeen University students showing a very small correlation between head size and grades achieved in medical school examinations is not very important for the general problem. These students had already been selected for high natural abilities; the differences in their grades were in consequence largely due to other factors in the situation.[51]

There are certain general considerations which point to a correlation between size of brain and intellectual capacity. There is first the evolutionary argument that the development of mental powers in the animal world is accompanied by an increase in brain size. The difference between the anthropoids with a maximum of about 600 grams of brain weight and the lowest humans with at least 900 grams is instructive. Prof. Marcellin Boule[52] gives the following figures for average size of brain in cubic centimeters:

Anthropoid Apes (maximum)	621 c.c.
Pithecanthropus erectus (estimated)	855 c.c.
Andaman Islanders (average for men)	1300 c.c.
Australian Aborigines (average for men)	1340 c.c.
Neanderthal Man (average of four)	1400 c.c.
Parisians	1550 c.c.

Another important bit of evidence is that in various investigations, some of which are reported in the following pages, the brains of the lower levels of the white population were found to

105–46. This confirmed an earlier, less comprehensive study, *Proceedings, Roy Soc.*, vol. 69, 1902, pp. 333–42.

[51] Reed and Mulligan, *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, vol. 53, 1923, pp. 322–32.

[52] *Fossil Man. Elements of Human Palæontology*, trans. from the French by Jessie E. and James Ritchie, Edinburgh, 1923, p. 229.

be distinctly below the general average for that stock. On the other hand, Prof. L. M. Terman [53] found that the cranial capacities of his 643 highly selected children showed at every age larger brains than the norms for "Anglo-Saxon" children as fixed by Berry and Porteus.[54]

This view is sustained by the most extensive investigation yet made of the size of the brain in superior men. Dr. Edward A. Spitzka,[55] eminent anatomist, made a survey of all available evidence covering 137 more or less well-authenticated cases. He found frequent comment on the size of brain, the frequency of marked development of special tracts and the depth of convolutions. For 108 of the brains where the weights were somewhat accurately known, the average was 1473 grams or from 75 to 100 grams above the European average. This he considered remarkable in view of the fact that many of these men had lived to an average of 62.3 years, some of them to an advanced age, and it is well-established that the brain loses weight after middle life. The range in size was from over 2000 grams to 1200 grams. The normal weight of the European brain is somewhere between 1350 and 1400 grams. Only 34 of the 108 eminent men had brains of less than 1400 grams, in spite of their advanced ages; 26 were below 1375 and only 18 were below 1350. Moreover, the author indicates that a number of these smaller brains had atrophied greatly between middle-age and death.

Spitzka also looks at the matter from the standpoint of cranial capacity. Of 64 eminent men (and eminence here is far from meaning lasting distinction) the cranial capacity was 1650 cubic centimeters on an average, or 100 above the average for Parisians and 173 above that for negroes as given by Boule. Dr. Spitzka finds that though brain weight varies with age, sex, stature, race, cranial form and capacity, body-build, state of nutrition, and mode

[53] L. M. Terman *et al., Genetic Studies of Genius,* vol. 1, 1925, p. 152.

[54] R. J. H. Berry and S. D. Porteus, "Intelligence and Social Valuations." *Research Publ.* No. 20, Vineland Training School, 1920.

[55] "A Study of the Brains of Six Eminent Scientists and Scholars Belonging to the American Anthropological Society," *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.,* vol. 21, 1906, pp. 175–308.

of death, there is nevertheless a definite tendency for it to increase with elevation of social and intellectual class. "Men of the kind who never remain steadily employed and who usually fail to learn even a trade stand lowest in the scale. Above them come the mechanics and trade-workers, the clerks, the ordinary business men and the common-school teachers. Highest of all we find the men of decided mental abilities." [56] This statement harmonizes with data presented in a subsequent paragraph and suggests an interesting parallel between brain size and mental test ability in relation to occupational stratification.[57]

Most important of all, however, is the work of Berry and Porteus based on measurements of more than 9000 individuals, 6700 males and 2717 females. They established norms and ranges of variation, for ages 7 to 20, and noted that for the educated classes the brain continues to develop beyond that age. Spitzka noted that senile atrophy of the brain set in on an average ten years later among eminent men than among the average. Berry and Porteus found the average brain capacity of Melbourne University students at age twenty to be 1483 cubic centimeters; for 217 adult paupers it was 1440 c. c., this difference of 43 c. c., being equal to at least two years of normal male development.[58] For adult male Australian aborigines the average was 1347 c. c., or about the "Anglo-Saxon" norm for age 12. For 53 deaf-mute boys of age 12 the average was 1307 c. c., or somewhere above the "Anglo-Saxon" 9-year norm; and for 39 mentally deficient boys of age 12 it was 1292 c. c., or near the norm for 8.5 years. There are many sources of error in these measurements and they can be taken only as indicative, though highly so. The possibilities

[56] *Op. cit.*, pp. 223–4.

[57] For additional confirmation see R. C. Benington and Karl Pearson, "Cranial Type Contours," *Biometrika*, vol. 8, 1911; especially p. 137.

[58] The figures for capacity given by these authors are not strictly comparable to those given elsewhere in these pages; they were derived by the use of the Pearson and Lee formulæ from measurements on the living. It is, therefore, probable that some inaccuracy attaches to them. One can translate brain weight into cranial capacity by assuming that the former is about 90 per cent of the latter; this ratio obviously varies with age.

of error led the investigators to include four-fifths of the cases either side the average as within the normal range of variation. They then contrasted the remaining ten per cent of all cases at the two extremes. In the microcephalic group (lowest ten per cent of all cases) they found 50.5 per cent of the individuals to be either feeble-minded or distinctly dull and only 4 per cent to be above average intelligence. At the opposite extreme, among the macrocephalic group (the ten per cent with largest brains), they found 14 per cent to be subnormal and 25 per cent to be above average intelligence. In other words the chances of the small-brained individual having better than average intelligence are 1 to 25; for the large-brained, they are 1 to 4. The measurements for 464 feeble-minded, psychopathic, delinquent and dull-normal individuals also frequently revealed marked deviations from the norm in one or another cranial index. The brains of the feeble-minded were on the average from five to seven years normal brain growth smaller than the standards for their age classics.

In this connection mention should be made also of the fact that Hrdlička found the cephalic module or size of head "perceptibly smaller, both absolutely and relatively to stature in the highlanders of Tennessee than it is in the rest of the Old Americans." He found that a comparison of head size of Old Americans and immigrant groups from twelve different nationalities, showed a distinct superiority for the former, account being taken of the variation of brain size with stature. Interestingly enough he also found that "the head of the female is absolutely smaller than that of the male; strictly speaking it is also slightly smaller in relation to stature; and relatively the disproportion in favor of the males is still more marked with the brain." [59] In fairness it should be added that Hrdlička looked upon the sex differences as purely morphological with no necessary significance for brain quality; and he considered the small brains of the Tennessee mountaineers and the immigrant groups as due to the lesser mental activity of these peoples. On this last point he clearly appears to have reversed the primary relationship, for while activity may have some effect on brain growth, such effect would be small in

[59] *Op. cit.*, pp. 179 *et seq.*

comparison with the inherent differences of brain capacity for advanced mental activities. Finally, we may note incidentally in passing that Hrdlička found one of his samples among the Old Americans which showed a strikingly large cephalic module to be composed largely of the staff of a university. He was surprised to find that the Irish approached more nearly the American standard than did any other immigrants. He notes that shape of the head has little effect on size but what advantage there is favors the brachycephals. Whatever significance there is to these last two facts is respectfully called to the attention of Grant, Stoddard and Brigham.

These facts and many others like them indicate that there is some correlation between brain size and mental efficiency; also between normality of brain development and normality of behavior adjustments. At the same time one cannot claim that this correlation is high. It appears to be generally admitted that brain structure is more important than size. Large size with simple structure gives a brain less potent than one of smaller size but finer organization. Boule [60] says of the brain of Neanderthal man that it was remarkable for "the simplicity and coarse appearance of the convolutions. . . . In respect of this character the brain of Neanderthal man more resembles the brains of the great anthropoid apes or of microcephalic man." At the same time the lobes of the Neanderthal brain were relatively small, having a ratio to those of modern man of 32 to 43, and the cortical areas or zones of association, while superior to those of the apes, were much inferior to those of modern man. All of which permits the inference that Neanderthal man was incapable of many of the higher cultural developments.

Studies in the evolution of the brain structure show at least two fundamental changes: (1) the alteration of the sizes of the various sensory areas; [61] (2) the development of the cerebral cortex. This last is by all odds the most important and is accompanied by the development of the higher mental activities. In

[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

[61] See G. Elliot Smith's illustration, *Essays on the Evolution of Man*, Oxford, 1924, p. 141; also Spitzka, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

the cerebral cortex are two series of fields: (a) the projection centers with fibrous connections with the various sensory and motor areas; and (b) "interpolated between the projection centers numerous association areas of great complexity.

"Elliot Smith has called attention to the fact that in the larger anthropoid apes the projection centers are as extensive as in men of equal body weight, though the cerebral hemispheres as a whole are only half as heavy as the human.

"What is added in the human brain is far more complex association centers in the regions lying between the projection centers. These association centers, whose fibrous connections are for the most part related with other parts of the cerebral cortex itself, present a structural index of man's supremacy over the brutes. His senses are perhaps little if at all superior to those of the apes, but he can do more with them because present and past sensory data can be associated in more complex patterns." [62]

The point in all this, for our purpose, is that there is a certain specificity about the brain structure carrying a limitation of behavior possibilities. This is sufficiently obvious for the sensory and motor powers. It is true also of the higher association centers or the structures through which modifiability and adaptability of behavior are achieved. But the extent of such adaptability must be conditioned by the number of neurones, their dendrites and axones, and the permeability of the synapses. These powers vary from individual to individual and it is scarcely possible that they should have followed the same line of biological development among the varied races of men, in view of the great diversity of racial history.

The negro brain reveals some striking illustrations. The most extensive comparative study yet made of white and negro brains is that of Dr. Robert B. Bean.[63] He compared the brains of 103 negroes and 49 whites whose bodies were unclaimed at death. Un-

[62] C. Judson Herrick, *Neurological Foundations of Animal Behavior*, New York, 1924, p. 273.

[63] "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," *The Amer. Jour. of Anatomy*, vol. 5, 1906, pp. 353–432; also "The Negro Brain," *Century Magazine*, vol. 72, 1906, pp. 778–84.

der the circumstances he considered it quite certain that the negroes represented a nearly normal distribution for that race, while the whites were definitely below the average and included no individuals from the more successful classes. In general his comparison shows significant differences in both size and structure, "the difference in size being represented in both gray matter (nerve cells) and white matter (nerve fibres). Brain cells are the basis of brain power or mental ability, and their number is known to remain constant throughout life so that there never seems to be a degree of mental development beyond the possible expression of the brain cells inherited." [64] As to size Bean found that the range of his two groups was nearly identical, being from 1010 to 1560 grams for 51 negro (including mulatto) males and from 1040 to 1555 grams for 37 white males. The negro male average was 1292 grams and the white male 1341. The low range and average for the whites is largely explained by the class of subjects represented. A summary of measurements of 4000 white brains by various scientists gives an average of about 1400 grams for males and 1250 grams for females. Bean found that his negro brains showed a mode or center of greatest frequency between 1100 and 1200 grams while for his white brains the mode lay above 1300.

These results may be compared with one or two later studies. Professor Wingate Todd [65] found the average for 87 negro males to be 1350.25 ± 9.27 c. c. and for 17 negro females 1220.70 ± 20.28 c. c. Concerning results obtained at the Galton Laboratory, Professor Karl Pearson remarked: "I think we may say provisionally that for the negro skull the capacity is about 1350 c. c. for males and 1230 c. c. for females. Clearly the capacity of the negro skull is for males about 140 c. c., and for females 100 c. c., less than that of modern Europeans. These are significant differences." [66] In one group of 49 males Benington found an average of 1380.5

[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 778.

[65] "Cranial Capacity and Linear Dimensions in White and Negro," *Amer. Jour. Phys. Anth.*, vol. 6, 1923, pp. 97–194.

[66] R. Crewdson Benington, "A Study of the Negro Skull with Special Reference to the Congo and Gaboon Crania," *Biometrika*, vol. 8, 1912, pp. 292–337.

± 10.4 c. c., the highest average thus far reported. Todd's measurements for 167 white males gave an average of 1391.08 ± 6.14 and for 31 white females, 1231.93 ± 15.30. He adds that, while his negro brains may be considered fairly representative, those of the whites were not since they represented "a shiftless population recruited from the water-front, the criminal districts and the underworld." [67] These small-brained individuals evidently were unable to cope successfully with the problems of adjustment to modern life.

Moreover, Bean's data supported the conclusion reached by Dr. Sanford B. Hunt and Surgeon Ira Russell of the Eleventh Massachusetts Volunteers (Civil War) that the size of brain among mulattoes varied with amount of white blood. The comparative table is reproduced herewith.

Variation in Average Brain Weight in Grams with Variations in Proportion of White Blood.

	Hunt and Russell		Bean	
Color Grade	Number	Av. Weight	Number	Av. Weight
White	24	1478	51	1341
¾ "	25	1390	—	—
½ "	47	1331	3	1347
¼ "	51	1315	15	1340
⅛ "	95	1305	16	1235
1/16 "	22	1275	10	1191
Black	141	1328	7	1157

These figures need some comment. Those by Hunt and Russell, being based on a much larger number of cases, are probably more nearly typical, but the variations are so great between the two sets as to indicate their lack of finality. They do, however, suggest a correlation between brain size and proportion of negro blood. Any figures on this problem will be more or less inconclusive because the degree of negro blood is difficult to ascertain. Discount them as one must, however, they are strongly indica-

[67] Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 135; see also p. 164 where Todd emphasizes variation in brain size with social class.

tive. Moreover, in view of the tendency of such characters to blend or strike intermediate values in crosses there is a strong biological presumption in favor of the general principle that mulatto brains will on the average vary with the proportion of white blood. The matter doubtless requires further clarification for there is such a wide range of variation in both races that much less importance would attach in individual cases or in small groups of cases to the proportion of white blood than to whether the parental groups—white and black—were above or below the median values of their respective races. That is, a low-grade white-negro cross might well result in a brain size considerably below the general average of the negro, while a high-grade cross might produce a brain size considerably above the average for the whites. In fact, Hunt and Russell found their mulatto brains to range from 980 grams to 1736 grams.

So much for negro and mulatto brain weights. As to structure, Bean found that the negro brain differs from the white fundamentally in that there is "a depression of the anterior association center and a relative bulging of the posterior association center." [68] The difference in size is "primarily in the frontal lobe, and it follows that the anterior association center is both absolutely and relatively smaller." [69] The frontal lobe of the negro brain is not only smaller, it is less round and full and has more pointed projections above and below, shallower fissures, smaller proportion of white matter, and simpler convolutions.[70] After citing other data he says: "This suggests a probable difference in the relative power, or capacity, or activity, of the frontal lobes in the brains of the two races, there being a difference of 20 per cent in favor of the Caucasian. This is much greater in many individuals." [71] Todd also finds striking differences in the proportions of parts in the negro brain as compared with the white and suggests the desirability of determining special formulæ for the negro. "Not only are many negro crania more developed in the

[68] Bean, *op. cit., Amer. Jour. of Anat.,* p. 353.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 411.
[70] *Century Mag.* vol. 72, p. 782.
[71] *Ibid.,* p. 783.

vertex than in the frontal and occipital areas, but they have also transverse and horizontal contours very different from those of the white." [72] Finally, assuming that the posterior association centers are concerned with the sense powers, bodily co-ordinations, musical sense and appetites, whereas the anterior centers are concerned with self-control, judgment and reason, one can perceive a neurological basis for racial differences in behavior and in characteristic rôles in cultural history.

We may now proceed to find a confirmation of these neurological facts in psychological data, particularly the rapidly accumulating information as to intelligence rating and the psychology of learning. It is obviously impossible here to attempt a digest of the numerous efforts of the mental testers and educational phychologists to arrive at a more accurate rating of negro intelligence. Professor Joseph Peterson [73] has made a most objective and critical estimate of all the studies, including his own, made up to 1923.[74] The general uniformity of the results by different investigators using different tests is so striking that it calls for a uniformity of causation to explain it. Peterson (pp. 132–3) summarizes 28 different comparative studies of whites and negroes in a single table. They include the investigations of the army psychologists, and school children of various age groupings or school grades, some rural, some urban, some northern, some southern, but in all cases whites and negroes were of as nearly comparable categories as conditions permitted. He says: "A careful study of the table with these points in mind will lead to the conclusion, we believe, that the intelligence of the negro race as represented in America is about that which would give him an I. Q. of approximately 0.75 to 0.80 when compared with the whites of his own section of the country or with fair samples of the American white people generally." Translating the statement that the negro intelligence as tested by various artificial

[72] *Op. cit.*, pp. 176–80.

[73] "The Comparative Abilities of White and Negro Children," *Comparative Psych. Monogs.*, Baltimore, vol. 1, 1923, No. 5, 141 pp.

[74] See also Rudolf Pintner, *Intelligence Testing*, New York, 1923, Chap. XVII, pp. 337–47.

devices is only 75 to 80 per cent of that of the whites into other terms, Peterson finds "that about 83 per cent of the whites are more efficient than the negro of median ability, while approximately only 15 to 18 per cent of the negroes reach the whites of median ability." If only one-sixth of the negroes possess as much generalized intellectual ability as is possessed by at least half of the white Americans of their vicinity, then the negro as a race is confronted by a severity of competition that under any circumstances will relegate the majority of his numbers to positions of inferior social status.

But no one should assume that present results are final as regards quantitative expression of degrees of difference in general intelligence. On the other hand, it does not seem probable that the fact of difference can be altered by any improvement in the tests or any discounting of results on account of inferior home and school environments, differences in cultural stimulation, greater social repression, hook worm or other environmental factor. I think it will be found a universal rule that, among different classes and types in the American population, there is a correlation between social status and intelligence. One might wish to exclude recently arrived immigrants but for all others the rule holds—not for individuals but for groups or classes. The negro no doubt labors under severe handicaps and there is nothing in the point of view here taken which would lend support to those who would make those handicaps more severe or further restrict the colored man's opportunities. We shall even attempt later to show that there is no convincing biological argument against the crossing of the races. We are under the unfortunate necessity in dealing with such a problem as this to speak of the race as a whole and do so in order to establish comparisons on an understandable basis. But law and social custom should deal with the individual on his merits and on the findings here presented a portion of the negro race equals or excels the average white man in those qualities tested by the scholastic and intelligence tests.

In this result it must be noted that there are included considerable numbers of negroes of mixed blood. Peterson contents himself with saying: "Intelligence test results, so far as they go,

indicate that the mulatto, or the mixed blood negro in America generally, is a little more efficient than the pure negro." [75] His results would seem to warrant a stronger conclusion for he finds as regards learning completion that "with every increase of percentage of white characteristics there is, with but two exceptions (out of 15 groups), a constant increase in the percentage of those able to complete the learning in 40 minutes or less"; and, "these correlations indicate that with every increase of white blood there is a tendency toward increase of efficiency in rational learning." [76] G. O. Ferguson [77] also attempted an intelligence rating in relation to proportion of white blood. He concluded: "It is probably correct to say that pure negroes, negroes three-fourths pure, mulattoes and quadroons have roughly 60, 70, 80 and 90 per cent respectively, of white intellectual efficiency." [78] This is obviously only a rough estimate and far from conclusive at least so far as the percentages are concerned.[79] But it harmonizes in a rough way with the results presented on a preceding page as to size of brain and degree of mixture. These results are all the more surprising in view of the fact that crosses of low-grade whites with average or less than average blacks might well give rise to offspring below the average pure negro in mental capacity. Professor E. B. Reuter who has made extensive studies of the mulatto in the United States [80] points out that, although most of the recent crossing has been between white men of low

[75] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

[76] *Ibid.*, pp. 128–9.

[77] "The Psychology of the Negro," *Archives of Psych.*, 1916, No. 36.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[79] See also Ferguson's "The Intelligence of Negroes at Camp Lee, Va.," *School and Society*, vol. 9, 1919, pp. 721–6, in which a similar relationship of intelligence score and degree of white blood is found. For a similar result in the study of Indians see T. R. Garth, "The Results of Some Tests on Full and Mixed Blood Indians," *Jour. App. Psych.*, vol. 5, 1921, pp. 359–72, and W. S. Hunter and Eloise Sommermier, "The Relation of Degree of Indian Blood to Score on the Otis Intelligence Test," *Jour. Comp. Psych.*, vol. 2, 1922, pp. 257–77.

[80] "The Superiority of the Mulatto," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, vol. 23, 1917, pp. 83–107, and *The Mulatto in the United States*, Boston, 1918.

social rank and negro women, not a little of the earlier crossing occurred between superior white males and selected negro females. He found that "of the 246 persons, presumably the most successful and the best-known men the race has produced, at least thirteen-fourteenths are men of mixed blood." Also, as a rule, "the higher the standard of success, the lower the per cent of full-blooded negroes."

If one inquires wherein the mental tests have shown the negro most deficient he also finds what would have been expected in the light of the neurological difference of white and negro brains. "With but few exceptions the general deficiency seems to be greatest in 'logical analysis,' in 'mental abstraction and reconstruction,' in 'judgment, in ability to define and analyze exactly,' in 'adjustment to unfamiliar situations' and in abstract reasoning." [81] This conclusion summarizes the results obtained by several investigations. Peterson's curves of rational learning "seem to indicate that the negro child failed more generally than the white child to isolate the essential elements of the situation and to hold them in mind explicitly while he organized his responses in accordance with their relation to his success." [82] It seems entirely reasonable to attribute this smaller capacity for abstract thinking on the part of the negro to an earlier cessation of brain growth which would also explain in part the smaller size of the anterior cortical areas. On this basis one can understand those reports of teachers of negro children in this country, in South Africa, and in Australia, that these children do very well during the earlier school grades, but that after age fourteen they frequently cease altogether to make academic progress.

We thus see that there is considerable difference in the average and range of distribution of negro and white intelligences. These differences are highly important for the relative fecundity of the two groups in superior men. They mean that there are certain levels of mental power attained by the white man which are never attained by the negro and that the proportion of whites po-

[81] Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

tentially able to achieve any of the higher grades of intellectual activity greatly exceeds the proportion of negroes similarly gifted. Such differences signify the differences between groups potentially capable, under favorable cultural conditions, of rising to high levels of achievement and those capable of mediocrity only.

Our object in presenting this long study of the negro has not been to lay the basis for broad and sweeping generalizations on the cultural limitations of the negro. We have made no effort to assay the emotional and temperamental differences of white and negro on which many writers lay stress. One can see no reason to doubt that such differences exist and that they play a rôle in the social status and cultural adjustments and contributions of the negro. It is not improbable, indeed, that in some respects here, as in physical traits, the negro excels the white. Our purpose has been the simpler one to give an illustration of the general principles discussed in earlier pages, namely, that racial differences are those of degree and not of kind. They must, therefore, be thought of in terms of statistical norms and ranges of variation. Also that the notion of superiority or inferiority is also quantitative and relates to specific traits rather than to the ensemble of traits distinguishing the races. Some groups may, to be sure, be inferior in the development of a number of traits and very important ones and thus be incapable of developing by their own initiative the highest culture. In other words, we have sought, using the negro-white comparison, to prove beyond peradventure of doubt that the races are unequal in mental equipment with consequent difference in cultural powers. This need not be interpreted as a blank assertion that white civilization is superior in all respects to one which negroes would create under similar geographic and cultural contacts. It does mean that the colored man would create a culture different in important respects. That the white culture is superior in ways that please the white man would not prevent one also saying that the negro might well develop a culture which would be more pleasing to him than the one to which many negroes in America are trying, against social odds, to accommodate themselves. In such matters one cannot get much farther than to say that different types of human

nature find different types of environment congenial. Nor does it seem to matter much in the long run that each type judges its own creation as superior, for they all change—even perish—in the end.

There are grounds for supposing that the negro's racial history has been less eventful than that of the white or Mongolian and his opportunities for racial mutation and selection less extensive. Professor C. E. Vulliamy [83] quotes Sir Arthur Keith as saying: "It is very probable that the negro was fully evolved in early Pleistocene times"; and adds, "That is to say, that some three or four hundred thousand years ago there existed a negro who was not greatly unlike the negro of the present day." These statements are only opinion and may appear extreme, but they point clearly to the wide diversity in the biological history of the major racial types. As Professor Clark Wissler [84] says: "Races are differentiated by descent, hence it follows that their innate equipments will differ." It seems possible to say that there is no respect whatever in which white and negro are equal,—physically, intellectually or emotionally.

It may seem strange that this point has needed argumentation. But there is a considerable school of opinion, frequently referred to in academic circles as the "Boas School," which has succeeded in conveying the impression that it believes the races equal in inherited capacities. This is all the more remarkable in that Professor Boas nowhere expressly states such an opinion himself. The only reasonable interpretation of his argument of the matter in his well-known *The Mind of Primitive Man* is that racial differences though real are less extensive and important than popular opinion has heretofore supposed. As to negro-white differences Professor Boas elsewhere says: "I do not believe that the negro is, in his physical and mental make-up, the same as the European. The anatomical differences are so great that corresponding mental differences seem plausible. There may exist differences in character and in the direction of special aptitudes. There is, however, no proof whatever that these differences signify any appreciable de-

[83] *Our Prehistoric Forerunners,* New York, 1925, p. 35.
[84] *Man and Culture,* New York, 1923, p. 286.

gree of inferiority of the negro, notwithstanding the slightly inferior size, and perhaps lesser complexity of structure, of his brain." [85] This statement may appear sufficiently equivocal to satisfy all parties, but it seems to us to indicate that our contention that the differences between white and negro, based on size and structure of brain, as well as on general morphological differences, point to measurable differences in mental capacity; but as we have argued throughout our discussion, these differences are those of degree. That average differences between the races may be small in comparison with the total range of variation within either race, does not make them any less real, nor any less significant for social theory.

To some extent the extreme conclusion that the differences between the races are in fact negligible is based on the theory that racial characteristics are plastic. The famous study by Boas on "Changes in Bodily Forms of Descendants of Immigrants" [86] is only one of a number of studies which are taken to indicate the changeableness of human traits from one generation to the next in consequence of environmental change. This is admittedly a difficult subject, and the above mentioned study, in view of the small differences discovered and the frequent conflicts in the trends shown is far from conclusive. Nevertheless, on general biological principles there is every reason to suppose that changes in stature, bodily proportions and even head-form will occur in consequence of migration from one habitat to another. In view, therefore, of the fact that the different racial types have for hundreds of thousands of years dwelt in different habitats and moved in diverse lines of migration, one is compelled to assume that their biological inheritance has been deeply affected in diverse directions. How is it possible for a school of anthropologists to assume that human descent and differentiation have been non-linear and that heritable human characteristics are plastic under environmental change, and yet at the same time argue that racial differences are either non-existent or negligible? The only posi-

[85] "Race Problems," *American Science*, vol. 29, May 28, 1909, pp. 839–49.
[86] Washington, 1910; See our discussion, *infra*, pp. 355 *et seq.*

tion that brings all the facts together consistently is to admit a greater or smaller degree of plasticity together with great difference in racial history, leading to the conclusion that the genetic potentialities of the different races of men are different—physically, intellectually and temperamentally.

We thus establish an *a priori* case in favor of the view that the various European races differ one from another in psychic traits. At the same time we have, in earlier pages, rejected the sweeping generalization of Grant, Lapouge, McDougall and Stoddard. We even rejected Brigham's conclusions as to racial ranking based on the study of American immigrants. It seems well established that at least some of the immigrant stocks we have received in considerable numbers since 1900, notably the Spanish, Mexicans, Portugese, Italians, Poles, Greeks and various Slavic nationals have been less well-endowed than the average native American.[87] These ingredients will on account of their high birth rates prove increasingly detrimental with the passage of time.

But one cannot jump from our immigrants to broad generalizations regarding the original European races. The immigrants are themselves more or less hybridized, and thus may not be fair representatives of any race. They come from nationality groups whose racial ingredients are in many cases very poorly understood and which are in most cases rather complex. What is more important, it would appear that the larger proportions of our recent immigrants have come from the less successful rather than the more successful classes of their own countries. Even if one wished to consider nationality groups as more or less homogeneous racially on account of long intermarriage, our immigrants

[87] In addition to the army data summarized by Brigham, see Kimball Young, *Mental Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups,* Univ. of Oregon Publications, vol. 1, 1922, No. 11; Rudolph Pintner, *Intelligence Testing,* New York, 1923, Chap. XVIII; May Bere, *A Comparative Study of the Mental Capacity of Children of Foreign Parentage,* New York, Teachers College, 1924, a very valuable study; and Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Intelligence and Immigration,* Baltimore, 1926. This last gives a complete and very judicial summary of all findings to date together with results of an original investigation.

are not fair samples of their respective nationalities. Moreover, there is some ground for supposing that in European countries, as in this country, there is more racial mixture on the lower than on the upper cultural levels. This is especially true of the proletarian elements of the cities and industrial areas. This would still further reduce the homogeneity and emphasize the unrepresentative character of immigrants.

In view of these considerations and the difficulties due to language and cultural readjustments we may admit that inter-racial comparisons that are entirely fair and absolutely conclusive do not yet exist. The fact, however, that Japanese and Chinese on the Pacific Coast, in spite of language and cultural differences of a high order, ranked approximately on the American level [88] indicates that these difficulties are easily exaggerated. Moreover, the steady improvement of the tests indicates that these difficulties may sooner or later be overcome. One can see no reason why the general intelligence of considerable groups of *relatively pure* Nordics, Alpines and Mediterraneans might not be determined by the co-operation of anthropologists and psychologists. By selecting areas where the types are purest and selecting in such areas those individuals who are closest to type, allowing for adequate range of variation, much light could be thrown on this problem. One may hope for some illumination from the non-language tests now being developed by a committee under the National Research Council and by various other investigators. A determination of emotional and temperamental differences will come later. Meanwhile, the only reasonable assumption is that Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean do differ in inherent intellectual and emotional traits. These differences may be small and yet they may have significance for social life. Moreover, hereditary differences would not be obliterated by the race crossing characteristic of the European populations though the differences of the original races

[88] K. T. Yeung, "The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco and Vicinity," *Jour. App. Psych.*, 1921, pp. 267–74; and M. L. Darsie, "The Mental Capacity of American Born Japanese Children," *Comp. Psych. Monogs.*, 1925.

would thereby be obscured. When one realizes the importance of such knowledge one wonders why an international commission or at least an adequately manned and financed American committee should not be formed to attempt its acquisition.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF RACE MIXTURE

Such a group of investigators, including properly trained biologists, ought to be able to add considerably to our present knowledge of race mixtures. It will be recalled that one of the favorite doctrines of the racialists is that the development of civilizations depends on purity of race, whereas the decline of civilization is most easily accounted for by the degeneracy which follows race mixture. Gobineau went so far as to approve the close in-breeding of the members of the European aristocracy. He and all of his followers down to the present have declaimed against democracy primarily on the ground that it encouraged a general panmixia of racial elements. It was argued that such general hybridity resulted in physical disharmonies and in mental and emotional instability.[89] In the writings of such men as Seth K. Humphrey,[90] Grant and Stoddard, not to mention the recent output of Ku Klux Klanish, Anglo-Saxonish phobias in this country, it is argued that the future American population would lack a stable blend of characteristics because of their increasing mongrelization. Some of these writers have held that, in consequence of the disharmonies of traits thus developed, every kind of social evil and immorality—the excessive use of alcohol and tobacco, the growth of irreligion, uncontrolled dissemination of news, pornography, excessive excitability, etc.,—would result. Mr. Joseph Widney[91] has explained the so-called instability of the

[89] See Martin P. Nilsson, "The Race Problem of the Roman Empire," *Hereditas,* vol. 2, 1921, pp. 370–90; also Gustav Le Bon, *Le loi psychologique de la vie des peuples,* Paris, 1894.

[90] *Mankind: Racial Values and the Racial Prospects,* New York, 1917.

[91] *Op. cit.,* vol. 1, p. 167.

Celtic peoples, their tendency to local feuds, and their presumed inability to maintain stable and persistent coöperative organizations as due to blood mixture. "This also is the key to the chronic unrest of eastern Europe, the so-called 'eastern question' is only the ferment of mixed bloods of widely unlike type."

Sometimes the argument takes a somewhat contradictory direction, holding that the hybrids sooner or later prove infertile, that there is a disturbance of the sex ratio, and that there is a general weakening of physical and mental caliber. Obviously such an argument would lead to the conclusion that hybrids would tend to disappear, an argument which is easily refuted by the almost universal hybridity of the human species.

On the other hand, the protagonists of race mixture argue that in-breeding inevitably leads to racial deterioration, that hybrid races are strongest because the infusion of fresh blood renews group vitality. Various social and economic arguments are also advanced in favor of immigration which obviously leads to race mixture.

Now in the most of this literature there is a failure to distinguish fully three different problems. There is, first, the question of the effects of race mixture as such, regardless of the qualities of the races crossed. There is, secondly, the question of the effects of the crossing of strains distinctly above or distinctly below the average, particularly the latter. And there is, thirdly, the question of the forms and intensity of the psycho-social handicaps under which hybrids usually labor. Obviously these three aspects of the general question are logically distinct, and clarity of thought demands that they be considered separately.

Taking a brief glance at the last-named aspect first, it must be obvious that, if and to the extent that hybrid types are forced by law or social custom into the status of the politically inferior race, the social achievements of the hybrids may fall short of their inherent potentialities. Much obviously depends on the general character of the social environment. In a rigid caste régime where advance beyond the status of his socially inferior parent is utterly impossible for the hybrid, no conclusive evidence regarding race hybridism can be gleaned from a study of the social status

achieved by hybrid individuals. On the other hand, as one approaches a régime where individual merit is the basis of social status the achievements of hybrids become more definitely an indication of inherent quality. The general aspects of this problem are much like the general question whether heredity or environment is the more important in determining individual success. The fundamental principle governing the answer to this question is that environment is not of equal importance to individuals who differ radically in natural capacity. The superior natural endowment finds opportunity where the inferior endowment finds only obstruction. Likewise with hybrids; the superior individuals born in a hybrid stock will very likely achieve a level of personal freedom, financial success and social influence unattainable by the majority of the race of even superior social rank, while his fellow hybrids are condemned to a status of restricted personal liberty and limited opportunity. Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois achieve a social status that excels that of the average white man in most of those aspects which are important for social welfare or individual happiness.

This should not be interpreted as an excuse for the obvious injustices heaped upon the hybrid population in many parts of the world. But it may be taken as a point of view directly opposed to that held by many sentimentalists who find in social prejudice the principal reason for the inferior social status of various hybrid populations. In the absence of a rigid caste system, hybrid superiority may be expected to prove its worth in the long run. The indefinite continuance of a status of social inferiority is a mark of inherent inferiority. Proof may be found in the improved social status of the negro in the United States during the last generation, and also by the probability that recently some thousands of mulattoes have crossed the line which separates the races. In New Zealand White-Maori crosses have achieved high political preferment. Likewise in the Philippines, in north Africa, in China, and elsewhere, individuals of white-colored ancestry have risen to places of high prestige, although their darker hued relatives have generally been denied the priv-

ileges that should have been their due from the viewpoint of strict justice.

Coming, then, to the biological problems involved, one may begin by noting that the conclusion reached from recent genetic research is that neither in-breeding nor out-breeding is in itself injurious. In the development of the various strains of domestic animals both principles are followed. Where the stock is genetically sound with respect to all traits it may be highly in-bred for many generations without showing signs of degeneration. At the same time, pure-line or thoroughly homozygous strains that are sound in all respects are extremely difficult to achieve so that a greater or less degree of out-breeding is considered essential in order to prevent recessive characteristics from manifesting themselves.

Under the Mendelian mechanism no trait can appear unless the factor for it is present in one or another ancestor. In-breeding may thus be used as a method of testing the hereditary potentialities; it will reveal any hidden factors or recessive traits. When, therefore, in-breeding produces abnormal traits or loss of vigor, these are to be explained as due to the presence of factors which can express themselves under in-breeding but are normally inhibited in crosses where the hetrozygosity covers them with dominant factors. The same general type of reasoning applies to out-breeding.[92]

A second biological principle is that crossing of strains increases variability. This is highly important as a factor in evolution because it gives natural selection a wider range of individuals to work upon.

In the third place, there is the phenomenon of heterosis or hybrid vigor which frequently manifests itself in the F_1 or hybrid generation. This increase in size and vigor is likely to be gradually lost in subsequent generations. Its appearance is doubtless a consequence of the combination of an unusual number of dom-

[92] J. L. Collins. In-breeding and Cross-breeding, *Jour. Hered.*, vol. 12, 1921, pp. 89–93.

inant factors for growth and vigor in the first cross; its tendency to disappear results from the loss of some of these genes through segregation or their recombination with genes affecting growth and vigor adversely. It is obvious that this phenomenon of hybrid vigor may, on the human level, be an important factor in the social history of a people.[93]

Finally should be noted the tendency of traits either to alternate in inheritance, that is, for the traits of one parent or the other to appear in the offspring, or for them to blend in an intermediate form. There is no necessary contradiction in these two apparently diverse tendencies, for while the segregation of genetic factors leading to alternating inheritance may be assumed to be universal, there will be a tendency toward intermediate or blended states in a mixed population for those traits which have back of them a multiplicity of factors.

While the current data regarding human crosses are not extensive, all the above principles have been found operative. The contention that race mixture increases variability needs little argument. It is obvious in the nature of the case. Bringing together the diverse genetic factors of two strains widens the range of possible combinations. This has been repeatedly observed by anthropologists for physical traits, and has been noted also by mental testers. It may be taken as certain to occur in consequence of the well-established principles governing the combination of genetic factors in the Mendelian theory of inheritance.

A conventionalized system of notation will illustrate this. We must avoid the over simple notation of the textbooks and we must assume that there are multiple factors for all important traits and that human strains are in general heterozygous. That is, we assume that for such traits as stature, head-form, and pigmentation of skin, hair and eyes it is not a question of presence or absence but of more or less. Thus race A might carry as a rule a combination for a trait of 10 factors from one ancestral line and 8 from another and be designated as 10–8. Its members would then show the various combinations 10–10, 10–8, 8–10 and 8–8.

[93] For an extensive discussion of these principles see E. M. East and D. J. Jones, *In-breeding and Out-breeding: Their Genetic and Sociological Significance,* Philadelphia, 1919.

Race B might be designated as 9–5, and show the combinations 9–9, 9–5, 5–9 and 5–5. Race A is superior to race B with respect to this trait, but the combination 10–8 may be assumed to be equal to 9–9, while 8–8 is inferior thereto. There is thus overlapping in the distribution. Obviously this picture of the case is over simplified because each race would start with more than one set of combinations. When these races combine one has not only all the original combinations but in addition, 10–9, 8–9, 10–5 and 8–5. The multiplication of these crosses fills in the intermediate steps between the original types and gives rise to an appearance of many blends. The original combinations are not necessarily lost but become relatively less frequent. Since a similar shuffling and recombination of factors is taking place for all other traits it is obvious that a very wide range of new associations of traits will occur. There is thus a great increase of variability. Moreover, it must be remembered that while race A excels in the particular trait here illustrated, race B may excel in some other trait or traits. Among the mixtures that thus arise the superior variations of both races will occasionally be brought together and thus give rise to individuals with a more extraordinary combination of gifts than could arise in either race alone.

Again, that crossing of strains prevents the manifestation of recessive defects peculiar to one or the other cross is well established. There are some notable cases of long in-breeding without noticeable evil consequences, as the Ptolemies and the Incas, but in the human family where exogamy is well-nigh universal intensive in-breeding is exceptional. Mr. John R. Miner [94] tells of an American family of English stock where for five generations there was considerable in-breeding but with the retention of vigor, soundness and mental alertness. There is no reason to doubt, that with man, as with domestic animals, some in-mating would tend to preserve the special endowments of high-grade stocks. This can be accomplished, however, by assortative mating, or the marriage of like with like, among stocks of similar ex-

[94] "Note on a Case of Human In-breeding," *Amer. Naturalist,* vol. 56, 1922, pp. 188–9.

cellence. At the opposite end of the distribution of abilities, in-breeding works its worst effects largely because there is a certain tendency for defects to be found in association. In-breeding brings to the surface, therefore, a multiplicity of deficiencies which out-breeding would tend to conceal.

Likewise, the phenomenon of hybrid heterosis, or increased development and vigor in the F_1 generation, has been frequently noted. It expresses itself in increased development of size, strength, and fecundity. It does not always occur, however, and its extent varies from cross to cross. Professor Boas long ago noted that White-Indian hybrids were stronger than either parent and showed an increase in fertility,[95] and many similar instances have since been observed. There is even some indication that the increase in vigor in the hybrid generation affects also the intellectual faculties. This clearly would be expected.[96] It is barely possible also that there may be some connection between hybrid vigor and the presumed tendency toward a greater masculinity in the sex-ratio among hybrid offspring. The data thus far collected are, however, far from conclusive as to the change in such ratio, primarily because they deal with nationalities rather than races.[97]

As to blending as against segregation of traits, observations on human crosses bear out the biological expectations. There is nothing to prevent certain traits being handed on from generation to generation as well-defined units, while other traits appear to blend. Much here depends on the number of genetic factors involved. Whether such blending is complete and thus gives rise to a new unitary character is by no means certain, nor is it important. "Whether ultimately a real blend occurs is uncertain, but if it ever does this may be only after a thousand years or so

[95] *Scientific Monthly,* 1894.

[96] For experimental evidence of this in mice see E. M. Vacari, "Hybridization and Behavior," *Eugenics in Race and State,* vol. 2, pp. 75–7.

[97] Raymond Pearl, *Studies in Human Biology,* Baltimore, 1925, pp. 103–13; C. C. Little, "Some Factors Influencing the Human Sex Ratio," *Proc. Soc. Exper. Biol. and Med.,* vol. 16, 1919, pp. 127–30.

of inter-breeding within the hybrid race." [98] The genetic factors would in any case undergo repeated segregation and recombination, which in a mixed population would give rise to endless variety. In a mixed population apparent blending may obscure the operation of the universal principles of segregation as regards those traits for which the factors are numerous. A blended condition for complex traits may well appear alongside a tendency for more simple traits to alternate in inheritance. Blending may appear to be the prevailing condition for a population when viewed superficially and as a whole, and yet careful study of individuals would show alternating inheritance of allelomorphic forms to be the rule. A skilful geneticist could break up such a population into a considerable number of sub-races. This appears to be the condition of such a population as the Old-American stock.

Then there is the phenomenon of linkage of traits in inheritance which will have a tendency to give offspring the external or superficial appearance of approaching one or the other ancestral type. At the same time, equally significant but more deep-seated combinations of traits might approach the other ancestor. It follows that the descendants of two races will show the utmost variety of combinations of the traits of the ancestor races ranging from external approaches to one type, through various intermediate blends to close approximations to the other type. When, therefore, one observer insists that the offspring show alternative inheritance and thus resemble one original race or the other, and another insists that they show a blend of the original races, and still another insists that they are mosaics of ancestral elements, all may be correct. In this connection one may note that Professor Dixon analyzes the skulls of the different races back into more primitive elements, while Professor E. A. Hooton [99] thinks that many so-called races are fairly homogeneous blends of older race types which could be unraveled by a careful and detailed study

[98] R. Ruggles Gates, *Heredity and Eugenics,* London, 1923, p. 233.

[99] "Effect of Race Mixture on Physical Characteristics," *Eugenics in Race and State,* Baltimore, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 64–74. This article gives an interesting account of the behavior of certain traits in crossing.

of their morphological characteristics. On the basis of Mendelism such method and theory are sound; but in the absence of conclusive evidence as to what the more primitive types were, the application of the method or the verification of the theory may be attended with very doubtful success. Moreover, mutations have probably been more or less frequent and would further increase the uncertainties as to the exact morphological nature of ancestral traits.

Professor W. E. Castle is of the opinion that in human crosses most traits blend and that this is especially true for stature, weight and mental powers. In negro-white descendants he sees a blending of skin-color and intelligence. In Fischer's famous study of the Boer-Hottentot mixture [100] the first generation was intermediate; if these were crossed with either ancestral type, the progeny approached that type. In general these so-called Rehebother Bastards showed a great variety of combination of traits, but with considerable tendency toward segregation of ancestral traits and little tendency to blending. No doubt such an observation would be greatly affected by the particular traits brought into consideration. Fischer noted alternating inheritance, particularly in the, eye- and skin-color, hair-form, nose-shape, and nasal-index. Bodily size and length of face were greater in the hybrids than in either parental stock. Fischer found the stock super-fertile, with an average of 7.4 children per marriage and with a normal sex ratio among offspring. They were of excellent health, soundness and vigor.

These results appear to be typical.[101] But it is not necessary to

[100] See Gates, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[101] For additional details on the behavior of traits under race crossing see Gates, *op. cit.;* L. C. Dunn, "Some Results of Race Mixture in Hawaii," *Eugenics in Race and State,* vol. 2, pp. 109–24; E. J. Reece, "Race Mingling in Hawaii," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.,* vol 20, 1914, pp. 104–16; Earl Finch, "The Effects of Racial Miscegenation," *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems,* pp. 108–12; F. L. Hoffman, "Miscegenation in Hawaii," *Jour. of Hered.,* vol. 8, 1917, pp. 12 et seq.; Vaughan MacCaughey, "Race Mixture in Hawaii," *ibid.,* vol. 10, 1919, pp. 41–7 and 90–5. This last author concludes against race crossing; he finds the White-Hawaiian cross uniformly bad. On the other hand Reece found the offspring of White-Hawaiian matings

conclude that all crosses are good or neutral in all respects. Obviously this is hardly to be expected. On the other hand, however, the widely prevalent notion that mixture is bad in itself and that all crosses are to be avoided on general principles is wholly without foundation. The general rule is that the mixed population resulting from a crossing of races will vary about some point intermediate between the two original types. It is thus, as a rule, an improvement over the lower type, and contains individuals both above and below the average of the higher type. It is certain to contain combinations of genetic potentialities not found in either originating race and thus will as a whole be more plastic material for natural selection to work upon and more versatile in its responses to cultural suggestions. The mixed population may not in any of its exemplars pass the limits of variation of the ancestral races; this seems to be so for all cases of color crosses as regards depth of pigmentation. But where the phenomenon of heterosis occurs the limits are surpassed. This and the fact that the hybrid stock is more variable, constitute the important aspects of race crossing in relation to cultural development.

We come then to the question of ill-proportioned combinations of traits among hybrids. Professor Jon A. Mjøen [102] argues that the increased development in the F_1 generation in both animals and humans must be looked upon as abnormal and consequently as a source of weakness. Mjøen also argues that immunity against disease is reduced by crossing; that "crossing between widely different races can lower the physical and mental level"; that "prostitutes and the 'unwilling to work' are found more frequently among types showing strong race mixture than among the relatively pure types"; that there is an increase in tuberculosis and other diseases as also a reduction in mental balance and vigor; and finally, that there is an increase in criminality as evidenced by increased tendency to lie, steal and drink to excess.

to be "well-built, strong and prolific." This latter view seems more nearly correct.

[102] "Harmonic and Disharmonic Race Crossings," *Eugenics in Race and State,* pp. 41–61; also "Harmonic and Unharmonic Crossings," *Eug. Rev.,* vol. 14, 1922, pp. 35–40.

These contentions are far from convincing. Mjøen has given no indication, first, of the types of individuals, that is, the genetic potentialities of the stocks, involved in the mixtures he studied. There is a wide range of variation in every stock which is commonly looked upon as constituting a race. Mjøen is under obligation to show that the stocks involved in his crosses were of sound physique and intelligence and free from signs of degeneracy before they mated. He has entirely neglected, secondly, the influence of the psycho-social environment as related to behavior. There is one consideration, moreover, which entirely offsets his conclusion, namely, that, as Professor Hermann Lundborg [103] argued, race crossing is much more frequent among the lower than among the middle and upper classes. Since he also was studying Scandinavian data, this fact is an important refutation of Mjøen's explanation of the correlation between hybridity and signs of degeneracy. The correct explanation apparently is that this correlation was not due to race crossing as such, but rather to the intermingling on lower social levels of individuals representing the lower grades of different racial types. From such parentage would inevitably come a considerable brood of low-grade individuals. The same results follow the marriages of low-grade stocks within the same homogeneous racial group, as witness the Jukes, the Ishmaelites and others. In fact, closely in-bred human stocks frequently manifest an equal or even greater degree of degeneracy than that ascribed to hybrid stocks. One cannot logically attribute to race mixture results that occur under in-breeding or even in the absence of either in-breeding or out-breeding.

It is indeed doubtful whether students of race mixture have as a rule made sufficient distinction between the effects of race mixture as such and the effects of crossing low-grade stocks regardless of race. There is crossing of races at all levels, but much less of it at the top of a given society than at the bottom. It might well appear that the crosses at the top gave rise to a large

[103] "Hybrid Types of the Human Race," *Jour. of Hered.*, vol. 12, 1921, pp. 274–80.

proportion of that society's genius while the crossing at the bottom gave rise to much of its degeneracy. In neither case would it be necessary to attribute any of the result to race mixture as such. If one can assume that, in such a society, race crossing were accompanied by heterosis, then he could say that such crossing increased the supply of genius and decreased the supply of degenerates. In any case, the argument that race mixture produces degeneracy cannot be sustained on the basis of existing facts. Every area of advanced civilization attracts the pauperized, immoral, parasitic and anti-social of every breed. There they find shelter in a thousand nooks and crannies which a simpler, sterner society does not afford. And there they reproduce after their own kind, often with the aid of well-meaning agencies for the social uplift. If race crossing appears correlated with degeneracy, it is spurious correlation. Those who argue that such correlation is real must prove it by careful pedigrees of sound stocks in which degeneracy appears following race mixture.

Professor C. B. Davenport [104] points to disharmonies such as inferior circulatory systems or small digestive systems in large bodies, or large teeth in small jaws. His theory rests on a fairly simple type of Mendelian inheritance so that length of legs tends to be inherited independently of length of trunk, or neck, or head. It would result from this theory that long legs and short trunk or vice versa might be found associated in a hybrid stock, the length of legs being determined by factors from one ancestor and length of trunk by factors from the other. No doubt individuals of this sort are observed, but it is not clear that they are due to the crossing of races. Such individuals are rare under any circumstances, if one allow a moderately wide range for normal variations. They may be observed among the Old American stock. On the other hand, the crossing of white and negro in nearly all cases gives rise to well-proportioned individuals. Where oddities in the combinations of traits occur in human hybrids it has not been shown that they are due to some subtle but

[104] "The Effects of Race Intermingling," *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, vol. 56, 1917, pp. 364–8.

mysterious influence of race crossing rather than to some special abnormality in one or the other ancestral strain. This could only be determined by a detailed genetic history of the family strains involved, showing them to be genetically sound before the crossing of races occurred. Certain abnormalities, such as acromegaly, are definitely inheritable and dominant. Other disproportions of development are doubtless also heritable. They may be, and no doubt frequently are, due to abnormal functioning of the endocrine glands, but, while the functioning of these glands varies from race to race there is no evidence that marked disturbance of their operations occurs in crosses.

More recently, moreover, Professor W. E. Castle [105] has presented a very strong case for the view that many factors for size are general, that is, tend to affect all parts of the body more or less equally. This view would obviously be in harmony with the new knowledge of the importance of endocrine activity in relation to growth in height and size. The present state of knowledge, which is summarized by R. Ruggles Gates, [106] is clearly indecisive. The existence of positive evidence for the operation of specific factors for length of particular bones or other parts and equally convincing evidence that growth factors tend to operate on the body as a whole in consequence of hormone action warrants one in seeking a reconciliation of these two views.

Sir Arthur Keith, the distinguished British physiologist and anthropologist, has developed the theory that the growth of the facial features, head-form and other traits by which the races are distinguished is due to the action of the endocrinal secretions.[107] It thus appears possible that there may be both general and specific action of the growth hormones. On this basis it would appear possible that crosses between closely related types would

[105] "Genetic Studies of Rabbits and Rats," *Carnegie Inst. Pub.*, 1922, No. 320.

[106] *Op. cit.*, pp. 29 *et seq.* and 210 *et seq.*

[107] "The Differentiation of Man into Racial Types." *Rept. British Assn.*, Bournemouth, 1920, pp. 275–81; and "The Evolution of Human Races in the Light of the Hormone Theory," *Johns Hopkins Hosp. Bull.*, vol. 33, 1922, pp. 155–9 and 195–201.

not produce the disharmonies which are said to be more or less frequent in offspring of widely separated crosses, because in the former case the hormone action would be similar in the two lines crossed. In the latter case there might be such a combination of factors as sometimes to reconcile the differences between ancestral forms and sometimes not. The general effect, however, of hormone action should be to mollify the differences, since each gland affects the development of many different structures. Not only would groups of characters thus tend to be modified together, but, since these glands exert an influence upon each other, a certain unity of development of the entire organism should result. The glandular theory would seem, therefore, to discredit the common notion that crossing produces disproportion of parts. This conclusion is strengthened by the observation that extreme abnormalities of phenotypic development result from some special abnormality of one or another gland, as when acromegaly, dwarfism or gigantism results from derangements of the pituitary gland. Such abnormalities are dominant and their occurrence appears to have no relation to race crossing. Here again one should not attribute to race crossing, as such, bodily deformities which occur in their most extreme forms in its absence. Indeed, if one gives full weight to the fact that extreme abnormalities may appear within a certain race or unified population where passably harmonious proportions are the rule, he could say that the range of variations within an apparently homogeneous race are so great that the abnormalities or disharmonies due to race crossing, if they exist at all, are of secondary importance.

This position would, in general, support the view that the sizes of different parts of the body are not genetically independent. This is Castle's view, although Davenport also does not deny the existence of general factors for growth. The whole matter still needs clarification. We may repeat that a trait will not (in the absence of mutation) appear unless the genetic factors for it are present in one or the other ancestor. It is for this reason that extreme abnormalities may be cited as militating against Davenport's and Mjøen's position. Their appearance is not a matter of race, nor of race crossing, but of the hereditary constitution

of particular individuals. At the same time it is clear 1) that the factors for a given trait, say head-form, will be different in different races and 2) that these factors may not be linked with the factors for the customarily associated form of face. One would thus get a mosaic combination of long head and round face or round head and long face. Such a combination could not be called disharmonious merely because unusual until one has determined the limits of variation within the ancestral races. Moreover, even if disharmonious, such association of traits would not necessarily be detrimental in the struggle for existence. If they were they would not persist. It may appear that general growth factors operating through the glands of internal secretion exert only a limited action in harmonizing the specific factors for the various organs and tissues. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that whatever be the endocrine balance in a given race (Keith finds the Mongolian is subthyroid and the negro, subadrenal, in comparison with the white) that balance is inherited. Just how this aspect of race crossing will operate is, therefore, likely to vary somewhat from cross to cross, but one may expect a general tendency toward harmony in view of the action of one gland on the others.

There is one aspect of this question which is always overlooked and which strongly supports the view maintained by Castle, namely, that all the important races of man are doubtless of hybrid origin. In the course of the hundreds of thousands of years since the human stem divided into several branches there has been hybridization after hybridization. There followed some degree of isolation making possible the in-breeding necessary to fix a new type. The result is, as we have stated in earlier pages, that every so-called race is heterozygous for many traits. As Gates[108] says: "Any racial unit contains the potentialities of innumerable minor races if these could be separated and in-bred." This is particularly true of those broad racial groups represented in the European populations. It follows that those who argue that existing races represent harmonious combinations because they are pure bred unconsciously support the contention that at

[108] *Op. Cit.*, p. 223.

least a very great number of racial crosses have not produced disharmonies of physical proportion. This statement must be qualified by the fact that most of the crossing which has entered into the history of the major races occurred between closely related types. The intensity of the tribal attachment and the tendency among primitive people to maintain territorial limitations would favor the development of varieties in a general stock inhabiting a fairly large area. In the absence of mutations such differentiations would have been much less than the cultural differences from tribe to tribe within the same general area. When, in consequence of wars, droughts and floods or the domestication of animals, notably the horse, migratory movements occurred, the crossing of varieties on a more or less extensive scale would result, to be followed again by periods of segregation. In like manner there must have been long periods when great sections of the major races were completely isolated from contact with one another, but these periods were interspersed with periods of migration and race hybridization. So long has been man's history that both Mongoloid and negroid traits appear in Europe's racial background. If, therefore, there were any general tendency for hybridization to produce disharmonies, then disharmonies would be the rule rather than the exception.

Our general conclusion, therefore, is that race crossing as such is not biologically injurious. It may and doubtless does lead to some alteration in bodily proportions and mental potentialities. But that it leads to disharmony or instability is far from established and in view of the operation of the influence of the internal secretions on embryological development it seems highly improbable that from race crossing alone serious disharmonies could result.

In the present state of knowledge the conclusion reached by Lundborg in the article above cited is pertinent. Having examined all available evidence including studies of European royal families, various race crossings in Sweden, Hagen's observations among East-Asiatics and Melanesians, Boas's studies of North American Indian hybrids and Fischer's study of the Rehebother Bastards of South Africa, he concluded that, "Among more con-

spicuous and comparatively frequently appearing divergences of the morphological structure of a mixed-race population are to be mentioned an increase of bodily length, a stronger and more graceful body formation than is found in the parental races, a narrower and more elongated face, especially in its upper part." [109] While changes thus occur, there is here no evidence of such variations from a normal correlation of parts as would indicate deterioration. On the other hand there is some evidence of increased strength and grace. It may be added that Davenport's statements in the article cited to the effect that race crossing as such leads to inherent mental instability and a restless and dissatisfied disposition, which show themselves in mental inefficiency, insanity, and criminality appear to be pure pseudo-scientific bunk. These marks of social deficiency may be present in unusual frequency in certain mixed population strata, but they may much more reasonably be attributed to the social segregation of defective strains of different races whose crossing merely reveals their hereditary traits.

It is universally agreed that crossing widens variability and at least temporarily enhances racial vigor. Consequently it would also enhance the rôle of sexual selection, and for all these reasons it should be an important factor in the development of those supermen who constitute the principal agents of an advancing culture. We saw that even Chamberlain and Woltmann admitted that many of the men of genius of western Europe were obviously hybrids. On general sociological grounds one may argue that race crossing on a more or less extensive scale has always preceded the development of a high state of culture. This point we have frequently made in preceding pages. We now see a clear biological ground for supposing that race mixture was a factor in the rise of brilliant periods in the history of human culture. It is highly significant in this connection to note that Havelock Ellis [110] found that East Anglia, the area whence came a goodly portion of American

[109] *Op. cit.*, pp. 275–6.
[110] *A Study of British Genius*, London, 1904.

colonists, was one of the three areas which has proved particularly fecund in superior Englishmen. He also noted that it had been an area open to invasion and immigration throughout the centuries —Brythons, Romans, Angles, Danish Vikings, Normans, Dutch, Flemish, Walloons, and French: "East Anglia is productive of great statesmen and great ecclesiastics; it is also a land of great scholars." [111]

Applying these considerations to the American situation, one would anticipate that race crossing as such would increase the fecundity of the American people in genius of various types. We have seen that the original stock was already heterogeneous. Hrdlička comments on its great variability. Also, having noted that the new type which will result from the mixture of existing elements will be tall, more sanguine and less spare than the Old Americans, with wide variability in head-form and other traits, he adds: "And it may well be expected to be a wholesome and effective type, for mixtures such as those from which it shall have resulted are, so far as scientific research shows, not harmful but rather beneficial." [112] The colonists were doubtless a select contingent among the population whence they came, select in physical soundness and vigor and intellectual capacity to coördinate means to ends. They thus had the advantage of a beneficial racial mixture and of the potent factor of selection. The very rigor of their selection, however, and the circumstances under which it was carried out, prevented the inclusion among the colonists and early settlers of this country of a due proportion of individuals well-endowed with poetical, musical or artistic feelings. Their range of variation was narrow; and they, like the rest of mankind, suffered the defects involved in their excellencies. Subsequent immigrants through most of our history were also selected for physical soundness and energy and practical intelligence. If recent incomers have, on the whole, been of lower type as regards these particular qualities, many of them have been distinctly above

[111] Quoted by Ellsworth Huntington, *The Character of Races,* New York, 125, p. 363.

[112] *Op. cit.,* pp. 411–2.

the American average even in general intelligence and have brought with them endowments of musical, literary and artistic capacities in which the Old American stock was relatively poor. The greatly increased variability of talent now being born within the American population is already proving to be an important factor in the diversification of cultural activities and achievements. The simplicity and homogeneity of the American culture of a generation ago has gone. As some of the long-faced Nordic propagandists put it: "Our America is no more." This result flows from a variety of causes including the conflict of cultural elements, the growth of wealth, the progress of rationalism and the consequent freeing of mental and emotional powers. But, while these factors are of very great significance, some importance must also be attached to the presence within the community of stocks more highly endowed in certain respects than the older population. These new elements and their hybrid offspring have contributed much to the newer phases of cultural activity.

At the same time the clear evidence that the immigrants of the last quarter century were on the whole of inferior mental endowment, together with the fact that their fecundity is clearly greater than that of the superior elements in the population, is the most ominous feature of the American population prospect. The evils, however, flowing from the multiplication of inferior strains are certainly little affected by the consequences of race mixture. An inferior hybrid is no better and no worse than an inferior purebred imbecile or moron. Defective strains abound in the old as well as the new stocks, and both alike tend to transmit their deficiencies according to the same biological laws. If race crossing affects the matter at all, it should serve to conceal defects which more in-breeding would inevitably bring to the surface. We may here join hands with Stoddard, McDougall, East, Holmes, and many others in the opinion that the relative super-fertility of inferior stocks in our population is a threatening herald of population deterioration.[113] It is, in fact, probably the most momen-

[113] See F. H. Hankins, "Humanitarianism in the Light of Biology," *American Review*, vol. 4, 1926, pp. 52–60.

tous factor in American life to-day. Professors Ross and Baber [114] in an extensive study of mid-western families found that the average number of children for fertile marriages was 3.35 and the average for both fertile and infertile was only 2.8; but the average for dependant families of American stock was 6.49. Professor Hornell Hart [115] in a study of families at Davenport, Ia., found that there was an inverse correlation between size of family and mental-test ability. Such evidence can be found on every hand. But so deeply ingrained in our cultural attitudes are humanitarian sentiments, uplift complexes and the religion of democracy, and so much easier is it in an age of wealth, mechanism and applied science to attempt racial improvement through environmental manipulation, that a direct attack on the problem of racial degeneration seems at present impossible.

Even as regards white-negro crosses one can see no sound biological argument against them. Every observation indicates that the mulatto stock is not only more variable than the negro, but that in intellectual ability it ranks intermediate between white and negro norms. Here again the progeny, representing as they do a blend of ancestral characteristics, have their qualities determined not by some mysterious influence of race mixture, but rather by the genetic factors of their ancestors regardless of race. Average mulattoes are doubtless superior to average pure negroes in general intelligence, but inferior to average whites. But low-grade mulattoes prove inferior to average pure negroes while high-grade ones are distinctly superior to average whites. Blood tells here as elsewhere, but it is the blood of immediate ancestral strains rather than of race that is of primary importance. Since the crossing of the races occurs primarily between white males and negro females it may also be argued that miscegenation is a factor in race elevation. Such crossing usurps the reproductive capacities of the negro race without affecting the fertility of the white stock. In so far, therefore, as the actual white

[114] *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation,* Madison, 1924.

[115] "Familial Differential Fecundity," *Jour. Amer. Stat. Assn.,* vol. 20, 1925, pp. 25–30.

fathers might be assumed to be superior to the possible negro fathers, an assumption not always correct, the offspring will be better endowed.

Arguments against the crossing of white and negro must, therefore, be purely sociological. No doubt many such arguments are weighty, but even here there is something to be said on the other side. The mulatto, being in general superior in intelligence to his darker brother and less diverse in physical appearance from the general American population, finds a larger opportunity in the white world. In fact, it seems obvious that large numbers of mulattoes have latterly crossed the line into the white stock. One cannot see that there should be the slightest objection to this from the standpoint of race biology. Many such individuals are undoubtedly superior in their biological inheritance to millions of white citizens by whatever traits this be judged. Any circumstance, therefore, which enlarges their social opportunities must be looked upon as social gain.

This long discussion of race mixture indicates that we attach great importance to it as a feature of the population basis essential to the development of a high state of culture. We may summarize the bearing of the argument by noting, first, that there is no record of a pure race having of its own initiative developed a high culture. On the contrary, and in the second place, all areas of high culture are areas of race mixture. Such mixture has always occurred before the cultural advance, at least so far as the historical record goes, and this seems to have been the case with the introduction of Neolithic, bronze and iron cultures into western Europe. In the third place, the mixture is likely to be increased with any advance in the arts which raises the economic level of the cultured area distinctly above that of contiguous areas. Finally, mixture has the varied biological effects of widening the range of variability, of favoring the appearance of superior men through heterosis, and of making possible a multitude of fresh combinations of genetic factors, which increase the versatility of the hereditary talents available in the population.

The mixture of racial elements in Europe is so ancient and has occurred in such diverse forms and the variations of cultural

opportunities are so miscellaneous that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the present state of anthropological and sociological analysis to demonstrate any correlation between the presence of a particular racial element and the concurrent traits of culture or modes of popular behavior. It is logical, however, to assume that each element, in so far as it varies from the norm of the group as a whole, does exert some special influence on the cultural life of the group. The most important aspect of this matter is the relative fecundity of the various racial elements in superior individuals. There seems little doubt of this analysis as regards such clearly different types as Nordic and Negro. But as between branches of the European races the matter is not clear. If the Nordics have a somewhat larger dose of organizing and administrative capacity or of individual self-reliance while the Mediterraneans have a somewhat larger dose of artistic feeling, imagination and *la joie de vivre,* variations in the proportions of these elements will affect the general character of social life. But one must admit that there is as yet little precise information on such matters. Dixon [116] ventures the view that, "The Caspian was more of a conqueror, the Mediterranean a thinker and artist."

We may agree with Dixon also when he adds that the combination of Caspian and Mediterranean gave rise to peoples of great capability. Mixed in variable proportions and blended with various other elements, Dixon makes this combination largely responsible for the Minoan, Grecian, Indian, Islamic, and Judaic cultures, the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, the Kassite conquest of Babylon, the "Nordic" overthrow of Rome and the "Nordic"-Mediterranean colonization of America.[117] Since he makes the Nordic "the result of the long blending in the Baltic lands of the remnants of the older Palæolithic folk with the Caspian and Mediterranean peoples during Neolithic times," [118] one may perceive what truth there is in the Nordic doctrine according to Dixon's theory of racial history. One can at least say

[116] *Op. cit.,* p. 509.
[117] *Ibid.,* pp. 509–10.
[118] *Ibid.,* p. 520.

the Caspian-Nordic ingredients have proved excellent material out of which to compound a people.

But one may not conclude from this statement of the matter that the Nordic element has proved itself to possess a special civilizing capacity. It has been aggressive, warlike and adventurous; it has probably destroyed civilizations more frequently than it has created them. The Mediterranean has excelled in reflective thought and artistic creation. Moreover, Dixon goes on to point out that the Alpines, the despised, slavish, round-heads of Grant's trilogy, were an important element in the creation of the Babylonian civilization; the migration of the Alpine Dorians into Greece preceded the Hellenic age; "Rome rose to greatness only after the older Mediterranean-Caspian people of Latium had been half dominated by Alpines"; Chinese civilization followed the absorption of Caspian elements by Alpine types: "lastly, the marvellous development of modern European civilization has occurred in that region in which Alpine, Mediterranean and Caspian have been more completely and evenly fused than elsewhere in the world. Is it perhaps more than mere coincidence that the reawakening of culture in Europe after the Dark Ages began at a time when, after a period of centuries during which wide shiftings of peoples had occurred, the new fusion of the elements had been begun? Is it mere chance that it was in the north of Italy, in Tuscany and the valley of the Po, where the influence of the Caspian-Mediterranean immigrants was strongest, that the Renaissance began; that in Germany it was in the south where the Baltic peoples had in large numbers blended with the older Alpines and Palae-Alpines, rather than in the north where such amalgamation was less clear, that the revival of culture had its start; that many of the forerunners and leaders of the Reformation, such as Huss, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, all came from regions where the fusions of types must have been going vigorously on? The complexity of the causes underlying all such great movements are, it need hardly be said, very great, yet I cannot but feel that, among the many potent factors which have determined or directed the rise of modern European civilization, this one of the fusion of Alpine with Mediterranean-Caspian elements has an important

place. That the contact of two different peoples often produced a stimulating effect upon culture has of course been often noted; the point which I would make here is that this stimulation seems to be at its maximum when the peoples belong to the Alpine and to the Caspian or Mediterranean types." [119]

Professor F. H. Giddings has expressed the matter in similar but less comprehensive fashion.[120] "An anthropological theory of history that of late has been a factor in world politics has most mischievously confounded biological, psychological and cultural facts. Baltic stocks have displayed conquering energy and dominating will, but their culture has been derivative. Wherever they have gone they have mingled with populations of predominantly Mediterranean characteristics and have assimilated a Mediterranean culture . . . the predominant part which composite populations so originating have played in history . . . can be accounted for only as an exploitation of Mediterranean culture by Baltic energy civilized by Mediterranean culture."

These appear to be as fair statements of the relation of the European races to cultural history as it is possible to make in the dim light of present knowledge. We may add that in the ever-changing texture of racial qualities and the infinite combinations still to be made there may in the future arise race blends quite as excellent as those which produced the Age of Pericles, the wonderful thirteenth century, the Renaissance, or the present era in European civilization.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 515.

[120] *Studies in the Theory of Human Society,* New York, 1922, pp. 90–1.

CHAPTER VIII

ARE RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS UNCHANGING?

THE foregoing discussion obviously sheds some light on the question whether racial qualities remain unchanged through æons of time. Gobineau thought so and his faithful mimics have repeated his dogma down to the present. Grant [121] declares "unit characters are to all intents and purposes immutable"; "As measured in terms of centuries, unit characters are immutable." He tells us that, "The first result of the crossing of a pure brunet with a pure blond is to produce either pure blonds or pure brunets in certain known proportions, instead of offspring of intermediate types." [122] This must arouse our suspicions as to the soundness of the Grantian home-brew biology. Moreover in a passage already noted he says: "The specializations which characterize the higher races are of relatively recent development, are highly unstable and when mixed with generalized or primitive characters, tend to disappear." Race mixture thus causes reversion "to the more ancient, generalized and lower type." [123] In other words, the unit characters that were erstwhile immutable now disappear altogether—and both these views are expressed on the same page!

Now the fact seems to be that this matter is by no means so simple that it can be solved in an off-hand manner by obiter dicta that happen to suit propagandist interests. The complexity of the matter is shown by the wide difference of opinion between those who, like Kollman and Von Luschan, emphasize the persistence of types or indeed their absolute stability and those who,

[121] *Op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 16.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

like Boas and Huntington[124] see all parts of the body, even the traditionally implastic cephalic index, as quickly responsive to environmental change.

From the standpoint of modern genetics one might anticipate that, once a human type had, through more or less mutation and long selection, become specialized in adaptation to a given set of environmental conditions it would tend to remain unchanged in the absence of any change in environment or of race mixture. Obviously these conditions are difficult to maintain. Over considerable periods of time climatic changes have been considerable. Mutations may also occur even though environmental conditions remain constant. Race migration and contact have been the rule rather than the exception. In the presence of new environmental conditions selection eliminates the ill-adapted and will effect a relocation of type and range of distribution. If at the same time race crossing is going on there will be a general tendency for the original combinations of genetic elements to be broken up and new combinations formed.

Under these conditions a variety of results may be achieved. In the first place, the original traits, as individual traits, may persist. This is almost certain to happen with greater or less frequency. Secondly, there may persist certain combinations of traits which give to individuals the superficial or general appearance of ancestral racial types. Von Luschan found types characteristic of Armenian, Nordic and Mediterranean among the mixed populations of Asia Minor in spite of the varied history of that region during the last 4000 years. In the recent works of Fleure and James are many instances of the persistence of combinations of traits.[125] Fleure says: "If, then, a character is often simply

[124] F. Boas, *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants,* Washington, 1910; Ellsworth Huntington, *World Power and Evolution,* New Haven, 1919, esp. Chap. X, and *The Character of Races,* New York, 1925.

[125] *The Races of England and Wales,* London, 1923, pp. 16–7. See also J. H. Fleure, "Early Neanthropic Types and Their Modern Representatives," *Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst.,* 1920; and Fleure and T. C. James, "Geographical Distribution of Anthropological Types in Wales," *ibid.,* 1916.

handed on from one or the other parent, we have the notion of the persistence of characters, generation after generation, for ages, and of the persistence of groups of associated characters with, it would seem, tendencies to lesser or greater development of some of them. Thus in course of time the balance of development may slowly change, and yet in the main a group of characters distinguishing a type or breed may be handed on for an indefinite time, in spite of intermarriage with people of other inheritance." As he explains in the next paragraph, by the term "type or breed" in this quotation, Fleure is "not thinking of breeds, which have been kept separate since they evolved in the far-distant past. We are really thinking of groups of associated characters, which are frequently handed in one lot together from one generation to another. They may remain or reappear in after-ages to give us evidence of elements which long ago entered into the mixture which is continually re-sorting and re-mixing as the generations pass."

"It is wholly possible, for example, that a tall, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic Frenchman really possesses less of the so-called Nordic factors than a short dark-eyed round-head."[126] Hence when Grant (p. 16) says that, "The cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; . . . and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew," he speaks in terms of personal prejudice rather than biological fact.

It is not improbable that sexual selection, that is, preference for certain types, and assortative mating or the attraction of like for like, help to preserve certain combinations of traits. These processes would be assisted by geographical isolation and such social factors as class stratification, religious barriers and race antipathies which check a general panmixia by establishing social planes and standards.

At the same time that certain traits or combinations of traits show persistence other traits or combinations are undergoing modification. Doubtless the most important cause of such modification is the continual recombination of genetic elements from generation to generation. Every population has back of it a more

[126] East and Jones, *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

or less varied biological history and hence every generation gives rise to new combinations of elements. Then through Mendelian segregation and chance, certain genetic factors may be lost. This may readily happen as regards particular traits spasmodically appearing but it will be rare for factors widely dispersed through a general population. Finally, modifications due to mutational changes may occur. Professor E. G. Conklin [127] believes that "mutations of many sorts, good, bad and indifferent, are occurring in the human race." These changes may or may not be less conspicuous and less important than those that transformed the ancestral ape into man, but it is certainly erroneous to neglect them altogether.

The question whether a change from one habitat to another will produce hereditary modifications in a race is clearly a question whether mutations are to be attributed to such change. In the present state of biological knowledge it is extremely doubtful whether environmental conditions can be said to cause or to be in any way related to appearance of mutations. These may occur whether environment changes or remains the same. Mutations are internal changes in the genes themselves and are clearly of such a nature that their relation to specific features of the environment must be remote and obscure. The famous study by Boas already referred to purported to show that the European immigrant "changes his type even in the first generation almost entirely"; children born a few years after the arrival of their parents in this country "differ essentially from their foreign-born parents." Elsewhere [128] Boas contends that "These observations seem to indicate a decided plasticity of human types." In view of the fact that the differences between parents and offspring as shown in his original data for such a trait as head-form were not always either positive or negative but frequently conflicting, and in view of the fact that the general average differences were not always significant when compared with the probable errors of the measurements, Boas's claims ("entirely," "essentially")

[127] *The Direction of Human Evolution,* New York, 1922, p. 57.

[128] "Instability of Human Types," *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems,* pp. 99–103.

appear much exaggerated. It is, nevertheless, not necessary to deny that he found some real differences between the ancestral and the American-born generations. Whether the total change, whatever it was, should be attributed to the American climate, food, drink or mores, is open to doubt. It is indeed quite probable that these had nothing whatever to do with the change in head-form, assuming such a change to have occurred, whether as a mutation, a recombination of genetic factors, or as a purely somatic modification. One cannot be certain. The differences between parents and children ran in opposite directions for round-headed east European Jews as compared with long-headed Sicilians. Since both of these groups are of highly diverse anthropological composition there may very well have been operating some factor of selection or race mixture. The fact that the parents were of "pure descent," that is, "both Hebrews or both Sicilians," would not prevent their being biologically mixed or, in technical language, heterozygous for various traits. Boas's results may, therefore, be merely an illustration of what Galton called regression, i. e., the tendency of offspring to vary from their parents towards the general mean of the population, this mean being brachycephalic for the Jews and dolichocephalic for the Sicilians. If then these particular parental groups were in the case of the Hebrews slightly more brachycephalic than their racial, that is, ancestral, group norm, while the Sicilians were slightly more dolichocephalic than their racial norm, regression would have taken place in opposite directions. This is obviously pure speculation, but so also is Boas's unspecified environmental explanation. Moreover, the writer is not at all inclined to doubt that morphological changes of a mutational sort occur, although the present state of knowledge is far from saisfactory.

We have already mentioned Galton's observations of a change in the complexion traits of the British population. In a review of Bolton's *The Founders,* a collection of portraits of early Americans, Dr. F. A. Woods [129] points more or less convincingly to

[129] "Portraits of Early Americans," *Jour. of Hered.,* vol. 10, 1919, pp. 212–22.

various changes in physiognomy. Fleure[130] notes changes in facial form, cheek-bones, jaws, nose, changes following palatal regression, as occurring in the British population. Instances could be multiplied. Moreover, as Professor Boas says,[131] if changes in bodily form are occurring, "concomitant changes of the mind may be expected." The old doctrine of stability or immutability of types must be abandoned, but it does not follow as Professor Boas implies that there must also be given up "the belief in hereditary superiority of certain types over others." This last belief in fact supports the former, for one of the tests of superiority is plasticity, variability, and hence adaptability to new conditions. Evolution favors the plastic. Since the response of a race to a new environmental stimulation is determined by its inner constitution those types that prove most responsive will survive. Nor would different races respond similarly or equally.

Changes of a mutational sort must clearly be distinguished from differences in the extent of somatic development due to differences of food or life habits. A short person cannot be made tall by the best of regimens, nor a tall stock made short by a very bad one, although both may have their stature altered somewhat by differences in their life conditions. On the other hand, a short stock might be made tall by a mutational change which introduced additional factors for stature. There are, however, certain general observations which apply to both kinds of variations. One is that one organism may not respond at all to an environmental condition that greatly affects another. Certain genuine Nordics never tan, while even a negro may tan considerably. The low-grade moron is apathetic while the gifted child is keenly alert to many elements of his environment and responsive to a multitude of influences.

Another observation of equal importance is that the type of response made by the organism is fundamentally conditioned by its genetic constitution. H. W. Siemens[132] cites the case of the Chinese Primula which produces white flowers in the hothouse

[130] *The Races of England and Wales,* p. 18.
[131] "Instability, etc.," p. 102.
[132] *Race Hygiene and Heredity,* New York, 1924, p. 59.

but red ones in the open air. Either type of flower may be produced from the seeds of the other by a change of habitat. In this case we note first that the plant made a definite response to a change of temperature from 20° C to 30° C, a change that would not have disturbed many plants in the least. We note, secondly, that the response was definite and limited. The flowers were always white or red and never yellow or purple. Likewise, on a given summer day the Nordic may sunburn but not tan while the negro may tan but not sunburn. We thus see that the genetic factors determine whether the organism will respond at all to particular elements in the environment and, secondly, what the nature of the response will be, when one is made. These principles are fundamental to a correct understanding of the rôle of heredity and environment in morphological development.

And these same principles underlie a sound theory of the relation of education and environment to the development of mental traits and behavior patterns, although it must be admitted that these are mostly more plastic than physical characters.

Professor H. S. Jennings[133] gives a number of illustrations of the varying responses in bodily traits of Drosophila to variations in temperature or moisture. These and other changes cited by him come under the above principles. It is absurd to say that the environment produces such bodily changes for it is powerless to produce something from nothing. The environment no doubt is an essential condition but the dynamic factor is the living organism. If its genetic elements so ordain, it responds to a change of temperature or moisture, if they do not so ordain, it does not respond by a morphological change. If it does respond it responds in ways which its inherent nature determines and in no other way. One must add that mammalian structures are less readily altered under changes of temperature or moisture than are simpler organisms. That such alterations occur over a period of time seems certain, but whether a change of habitat can pro-

[133] *Prometheus, or Biology and the Advancement of Man,* New York, 1925.

duce significant changes in the human form in one generation is by no means certain.

In any case, it should be clear that in any given population there are going on a variety of changes in hereditary constitution from generation to generation. Mutations, new combinations of traits, the elimination of traits and the selective action of differences in the marriage, birth and death rates for different types are continuous processes and produce continuous alterations. It is reasonable to assert that in such a population as develops in any area of advanced culture, even aside from those changes presumably due to immigration, no two successive generations are exactly alike in the statistical averages and ranges for various traits. Since every area of considerable culture is also an area of population movement, one must picture the hereditary constitution of its population viewed in the large as now fluctuating about certain norms for different traits and now moving slowly but more or less steadily toward new averages with new ranges of distribution. An illustration is seen in the gradual brachycephalization of western Europe. With change in head-form may reasonably be expected to go also some change in the mental characteristics. This indeed is the basis of most of our Nordic pessimism: the passing of the Great Race is expected to leave the world without natural rulers, without inventors and creators. The Nordic race may be passing but we may view its passing somewhat laconically, since that is a way races have.

Our reasoning here is based on biological principles but it reaches conclusions in harmony with those reached by Professor Dixon[134] from anthropological data regarding the evolution of existing races. "These various living races are each the result of some particular combination of the original 'types' or elements, and the difficulty which we find in deciding just how many races there are, is largely due to the fact that the elements have been blended so variously and in such varying proportions. Moreover, from this point of view, a race is not a permanent entity, something static; on the contrary it is dynamic, and is slowly developing and changing as the result of fresh increments of one or

[134] *Op. cit.*, pp. 502 *et seq.*

another of its original constituents or of some new one. There is not a race in all history that has remained permanently unchanged, although the rate and degree of change have varied. Some races have retained their fundamental characteristics for millennia with but slight modifications, whereas others have, as a result of the incorporation of new factors, ceased to exist, because by virtue of such amalgamation they have become something else."

CHAPTER IX

CHANGES IN THE HEREDITARY CONSTITUTION OF A POPULATION

It has been asserted[135] that the inherent abilities of man have remained practically constant during the past 25,000 years. This statement is advanced as part of a general argument that there can be no correlation between the ups and downs of culture and changes in the hereditary qualities of the population present in the culture area. It should be evident from the foregoing discussion that such changes are the rule rather than the exception. It may also be shown that, in the absence of both mutations and race crossing a given population may undergo great changes in its inheritance. There are many cases where war, famine and pestilence have worked great changes in the composition of a population. All of these agencies operate selectively on a population and where their action is long or severe they may sensibly alter the statistical distribution of inheritable traits. In other words there may be "biological changes" in a population in the absence of mutations.

Of all the processes effecting such changes, the selective action of differential contributions to succeeding generations is the most important. While natural selection is popularly supposed to show itself in the elimination by death of those who are ill-adapted, the true measure of its operation is found in the different rates at which different types or traits are reproduced in the successive generations. If one take a typical group of 100,000 infants and follow them throughout life he will find that many of them die young, others die before the age of reproduction, still others never marry, and of those who do marry some have no

[135] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change,* New York, 1922.

children, others one or two and still others several too many. If all individuals born contributed equally to the next generation then two successive generations would be alike. But this is an assumption contrary to actuality.

In fact, Professor Karl Pearson[136] has shown that, of such a group as our 100,000 infants, about 40 per cent die before reproductive ages and another 10 to 20 per cent either do not marry or otherwise fail to reproduce. In other words, fully one-half of those born make no contribution whatever to the next generation. In China and India this proportion exceeds one-half. For England Pearson computed that the one-fourth of the parents with the greatest number of children per family have as many children in total as the remaining three-fourths of the parents. Now, it can hardly be assumed that the hereditary qualities of the parents in these two groups are the same. There is much evidence to indicate that the families are largest among the relatively unsuccessful. It is also true that deaths are also more frequent. But if one subtract the deaths from the births so as to arrive at the net fertility he finds that miners and industrial workers are making a larger contribution to the next generation than the executive, administrative and professional classes in modern society. By every possible test of physical and mental fitness to succeed in the type of society now existing in America and western Europe it seems to be demonstrated that there is an inverse correlation between net fertility and such fitness.[137] One may argue that

[136] "Groundwork of Eugenics," *Eugenics Laboratory Lecture Series,* No. 2, 1909.

[137] See among many references, David Heron, "On the Relation of Fertility in Man to Social Status," Draper's Co. Research Memoirs, *Studies in National Deterioration, No. I,* London, 1906; J. W. Bridges and L. E. Coler, "The Relations of Intelligence to Social Status," *Psych. Rev.,* vol. 24, 1917, pp. 1–31; "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," *Memoirs,* National Academy of Sciences, vol. 15, 1921, Part III, Chap. XV, gives intelligence ratings for occupational groups; Hornell Hart, "Occupational Differential Fecundity," *Sci. Mon.,* vol. 19, 1924, pp. 527–32; "Familial Differential Fecundity," *Jour. Amer. Stat. Assn.,* vol. 20, 1925, pp. 25–30; R. E. Baber and E. A. Ross, *Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation,* Madison, 1924.

an acquisitive capitalistic society is scarcely worth preserving and that, therefore, the elimination by way of scanty reproduction of those who succeed in it will hasten the dawn of a new and better social order,[138] but he can scarcely argue any longer against the fact of the differential reproduction of the existing social classes. College graduates fail to reproduce themselves while paupers and day laborers have large families and are assisted by numerous charitable and social agencies in rearing them to reproduce their own kind. It is not too much to say that under the impulsion of forces now operating in our own midst a substantial change may be brought about in the inherent mental vigor and versatility of the population in the course of a single century.

We do not wish here to enter into an extended discussion of present dysgenic tendencies. We are interested primarily in showing that population quality changes from generation to generation. As was first systematically pointed out by Hansen in 1889, the period since the industrial revolution is a period during which the surplus population from the rural districts has been drawn into the cities in enormous streams. Under urban conditions the factors of selection work more vigorously. The most virile and intelligent rise to positions of power and prestige; their fecundity falls; new recruits are drawn from the country to take their places. There are those who fatuously think this an endless and indifferent process [139] and that a ceaseless stream of leaders, organizers and creative thinkers can be drawn from that exhaustless reservoir of all good things, the mass of the people. But there are many signs already that, even in the United States, this process results in a sort of "folk-depletion" of the countryside.[140]

The sharp decline of the birth rate among the upper, that is, the successful, classes in our society cuts short the supply of ability.

[138] See J. A. Hobson, *Free Thought in the Social Sciences,* New York, 1926, Part III, Chap. II, especially pp. 212–17.

[139] See L. I. Dublin, "The Fallacious Propaganda for Birth Control," *Atlantic Mon.,* vol. 137, 1926, pp. 186–94.

[140] See E. A. Ross, "Folk-Depletion as a cause of Rural Decline," *Publ. Amer. Sociol. Soc.,* vol. 11, 1917, pp. 21–30, and references on other pages to Hart, Baber and Ross, and Ward.

It may be true that most eminent men come from ordinary families. But it is also true that superiority runs in families and that superior parents will produce superior offspring at many times the proportion that mediocre parents will produce them. But mediocre or undistinguished parents are so much more numerous. Pearson estimates that superior parents have gifted children twenty times as frequently in proportion to numbers as mediocre parents, but as the latter are two hundred times as numerous and have larger families, they give rise to most of the superior men of the country. This does not alter the fact that the low fertility of the gifted sets up a process of "folk-depletion." A similar reduced fertility affects all those who rise above mediocrity, with a consequent lowering of the general average, restriction of the upper ranges of variation, and reduction in the proportions of strains containing the potentialities of genius. If it is argued that birth control is the primary cause of this upper class infertility, one need not draw the conclusion that, therefore, birth control propaganda should cease. The informed classes are not likely to surrender what information they have. A widespread propagation among the uninformed of the most effective contraceptive methods would partially reduce the present undue multiplication of population at the lower levels, but it would not add to the requisite supply of the talented.

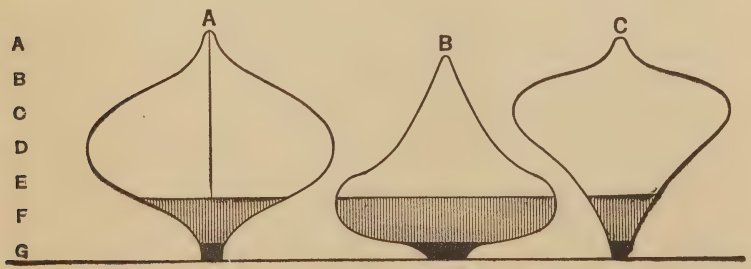
It is this threatening reduction of the proportion of individuals born with endowments of superior abilities that is by all odds the most important relation of the differential fertility of the social classes to cultural progress. Professor Terman[141] has shown that a reduction of the average I. Q. of the population to 10 per cent below its present level would reduce by 90 per cent the number of individuals with an I. Q. of 140 or better. Hart found a reduction in one generation of 3.7 on a scale of 100. For our purposes such figures need not be considered exact; their meaning is clear whether one increase or decrease the change they indicate. It should be added that any such reduction—even to one-half that amount—would not only reduce the proportion of ordinary leaders, directors and organizers, but would eliminate

[141] *Genetic Studies,* vol. 1, pp. 57–8.

altogether those rare men of the first rank who constitute the real genius of a people.

Our culture is becoming more and more complex, making increasing demands on the adaptability of man's mental equipment, especially his capacity to co-ordinate and bring into effective adjustment a multiplicity of factors and relationships. For successful adjustment is required both better brains and better training; and for the maintenance of social order is required an ever higher range of organizing and directing ability. And it is just at this time of what Stoddard has called "structural overloading" that ominous signs of a reduction in the inherent mental capacities of the population are becoming plain. Little wonder that psychic maladjustment is an increasing phenomenon and that Freudianism and psychoanalysis have an increasing vogue.

We may graphically represent in idealized form, after Galton, the theory presented in the accompanying paragraphs by the three graphs A, B, and C. The graph A may be taken to picture the American population of, say, 1900. Graph B may represent the American population as it tends to become under the influence of dysgenic reproduction, or the combined effects of small families at the top and large families at the bottom. Graph C may represent the distribution of abilities in the Utopian society of an improbable future when the dreams of the eugenist have been realized. The actual changes in population quality may be exaggerated by such graphs, but the latter are probably nearer the truth than the complacent assertion that such changes are really negligible. The letters on the left may be translated into grades of inherited ability, with which are correlated in a more or less



rough manner such other indexes as, intelligence quotients, occupational levels, income categories, and other marks of social stratification. The shaded areas at the bottom represent the obviously defective at the very lowest level and those just about able to hold their own in the struggle for life.

Such a reduction in the level of inherited ability as we are here picturing would not only cause a general slackening of the rate of cultural advancement, but a lowering of the dynamic forces permeating the whole of the social system. There would be a complete disappearance of abilities of the first order and a marked reduction in the frequency of above-average abilities of every grade. Institutions and organizations would fall into decay. Inventions would become fewer or cease altogether. An era of decadence in art and literature would set in. The economic order would first experience increasing difficulty in maintaining its efficiency, would then suffer increasing maladjustments and enter upon a long era of depression and declining productivity. The mass of the population would find themselves caught in social and economic difficulties with which they were unable to cope. Standards of living would fall, death rates increase and a greater or less reduction of population would ensue. Such changes might well take a considerable period of time in which various revivals of cultural advance were experienced owing in part to the fluctuations in the numbers of leaders from generation to generation.

CHAPTER X

RACE AND CULTURAL OPPORTUNITY

From the foregoing discussion it appears that the question of the rôle of race as a factor in civilization is primarily a question of the kind of racial combination that is, by the fateful operations of historical chance, brought into contact with a favorable or unfavorable conjuncture of cultural factors. Just as in politics or business there is a considerable element of luck which brings man and opportunity together, so with race and historical situation. And just as some men prove equal or even superior to the greatness which opportunity thrusts upon them, so some racial combinations exploit their situations and some do not. Or we may say that just as some make opportunities out of what are but hindrances to others, so some racial combinations forge great epochs out of what for others would have led only to a long blank page.

According to this theory the actual course of history is fundamentally determined by the conjuncture of racial, cultural and geographic factors. Each of these has an effect which it is the task of the science of history to evaluate. At present it is the fashion for some scholars to attribute practically the whole influence to one set of factors to the exclusion of the others. Thus "schools" of interpretation are formed each of which is inclined to view its opponents as more or less crazy, and each of which takes an "all or none" attitude toward extreme and dogmatic solutions. This may be taken as a sure indication that the whole matter is still in a state of nebulous uncertainty in which rationalization and guessing constitute the easy modes of solution. These solutions represent a metaphysical stage of explanation in which now race, now climate, and now culture or psycho-social

environment become the magic principles which solve all difficulties. There is no precedent in any other field of scientific inquiry for supposing we can stop at this stage. Every factor essential to the appearance of an event must be included in its causal explanation, and a change in any such essential factor will alter the event. The only sound sociology is, therefore, synthetic and adopts the valid findings of racialists, geographers and culturists.

Just now, considerable vogue is enjoyed in America by the cultural anthropologists who assert that the races are organically equal or substantially so and that all cultural differences of peoples are to be explained by differences in cultural history and contacts. This theory that cultural evolution can be adequately explained by factors contained within culture itself is nowhere better expounded than in the writings of Professors A. L. Kroeber, A. A. Goldenweiser and Wm. F. Ogburn.[142] There are many features of this theory which we warmly approve, but when it makes the bold assumption that racial differences in cultural achievement are adequately explained by differences in cultural contacts and history we feel that it errs as much in one direction as Gobineau and Grant do in the other.

The problem here is precisely the same as the question whether heredity or environment explains individual differences. According to our view the answer requires first of all the admission that both factors are essential. This does not, however, require that we adopt the stultifying further conclusion that, since both factors are essential, it is useless to inquire which is the more important. If we go on to make this inquiry we must specialize the problem, for environment is clearly more important for some things and heredity for others. Whether I speak English as my mother tongue or Japanese is obviously a matter of environment. So also the explanation of many important matters of belief, morals, and manners.

But if we try to explain why it is that individuals from sub-

[142] See especially "The Superorganic," *Amer. Anthrop.*, vol. 19, 1917, pp. 163–213, by Kroeber, articles by the other authors in *Pubs. Amer. Sociol. Soc.*, vol. 16, 1922, and Ogburn's *Social Change*.

stantially the same cultural environments achieve quite different levels in the society to which they belong, we shall in most cases be correct in attributing the major weight to their organic differences. This matter is rendered difficult of assessment because the operation of societal selection brings it about that, in any given community, the superior individuals tend to achieve the better social levels. The less endowed are less successful and remain in less advantageous social environments. There are doubtless many individual exceptions to such a rule, but in every way in which the matter can be tested by social investigations there appears to be a rough justice in the achievement as a whole as shown by the correlation between the social rank or the type of social environment and the inherent qualities of the population. This correlation is admitted by all schools. But some explain the achievements as due primarily or exclusively to the social environment, others as due primarily or exclusively to the inheritance. It appears to us that since the first work of Francis Galton the steady accumulation of evidence favors the view that social stratification in a democratic society is explained more fully by the variations in inherent qualities than by any other factor. From the same home, from the same social class, from the same racial elements, individuals rise or fall to all levels of the social system. No doubt accident and misfortune account for much in some individual cases, though we must not overlook the fact that some constitutions resist and triumph over adversities which others cannot withstand. Unfavorable environment prevents some from achieving as much as they should while favorable environment supports others in positions above their natural capacity.

In like manner many types of personality come out of environments as similar as it is possible to make them. The children of the same family sometimes differ more in personality traits and intellectual level than children from different families. If environment were of such prepotent influence as many educators would like to have us believe, then we should have little difficulty in elevating both intelligence and taste. Music lessons would make musicians, and the public schools make all persons intelligent. But back of the very first response of the future citizen to

the affairs of this world is his own special and unique organic structure. This determines his first response to his first stimulus; and in so far as his first experience affects his response to the second stimulus one must attribute his second response in part to his organic make-up. From the very first he does not respond to all stimuli that some infants respond to; and he responds in his own way, when he does respond. Moreover, he soon manifests a dynamic search for certain kinds of stimuli in preference to others. In this manner, the hereditary neuro-muscular structures and internal impulses are basic elements in the formation of conditioned reflexes and habits. Thus is character built and personality formed. I think, therefore, that we must say that, although the general features of an individual's culture are derivatives from the psycho-social medium into which he is born, the perfection of his absorption of this medium, the differential nature of his responses to it, the extent of his individual variations from its norms and his individual contributions to it are, in even a moderately democratic society, more fully accounted for by his inherited neurological structures and his bodily and psychic energies than by the nuances of opportunity.

Applying this reasoning to the rôle of race in cultural history, we must recall that our thesis throughout has been that the differences of races are those of degree only. It follows that within the same general field of culture some individuals of different races will rise distinctly above the cultural norm and others remain distinctly below. The differences of the races will manifest themselves in differences in the frequencies with which their members reach various levels in the social scale. Under favorable circumstances few negro children finish high school work successfully, and fewer still complete a college course. It may well be doubted whether there could be found any pure negroes who, if brought up under the most favoring circumstances, could develop the intellectual powers necessary to carry on the higher cultural activities of this country. Moreover, there are differences in temperament and artistic feelings. Whatever the negro absorbs from the surrounding culture and whatever he contributes thereto will be deeply affected by these latter aspects of his nature;

and we should expect important contributions from the new Harlem negro center and others that will very likely develop during the coming generation.

In other words, the theory that culture begets culture has important contributions to make to sociological theory, but it cannot dispense with the variable human factor. Culture does, indeed, sometimes but not always beget culture; and when it does, it does so only through the medium of the human mind. Now human minds are much alike everywhere, but there are differences among them which must be figured into the account. Particularly important, as we have repeatedly insisted, are the superior minds who do the creating, inventing and standardizing for their lesser confrères. Both the origin and the transmission of cultural elements are greatly affected by the relative frequency of such mediums. Finally, if culture can beget culture, why does culture decline? Surely not because it has reached the possible limits, but apparently because the gifted individuals who might preserve and modify it no longer arise in sufficient numbers.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

If then we may make a systematic statement of the apparent relation of the racial factor to cultural history, always assuming that it is only one of several necessary factors, we should begin by stating that the first essential is a crossing of able stocks. In actual history, up to the modern era of colonization every area of high culture has been the scene of the conquest of an indigenous peasant people by migrating patronymic nomads.[143] Following such conquest there has occurred, first gradually and then more rapidly, a breaking down of caste lines and the evolution of a new amalgam, conceiving itself as a nation of one race, but in fact a people of diverse racial composition. Such an amalgam possesses three qualities which make it superior to a single race as the basis for the evolution of an advanced culture. It has a wider range of variation and hence contains within its bosom a greater variety of talent. It is biologically more plastic than either parent race, gives rise to entirely new combinations of genetic elements and is thus fitted to express itself in all those multitudinous ways which are exhibited in the activities of a complex society.

In the second place and in consequence of the above facts, it will give rise to a greater number of geniuses of varying sorts. Even if one attributes nothing to the little-known operation of heterosis on the intellectual plane, it is clear that the combining of the different genetic potentialities of the more highly endowed strains of two well-endowed races will increase the likelihood of

[143] See F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology,* New York, 1896, pp. 299 *et seq;* Franz Oppenheimer, *The State: Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically,* Indianapolis, 1914; Eduard Jenks, *The State and the Nation,* New York, 1919.

those rare combinations which represent the genius of the human race. A man of genius is a biological accident. He is a fortuitous, unlikely combination. It can be stated with comparative safety that the world's geniuses have been with rare exception cross-bred, in areas of race mixture. But aside from the general fact that well-endowed stocks produce superior men in much greater frequency than mediocre stocks, little is positively known of the racial ingredients or the extent of the racial complexity of men of super-ability. Moreover, one should hasten to add that, while cross-breeding may undoubtedly aid in producing extremely favorable combinations of genetic factors for intelligence, character and temperament, more importance attaches to the quality of the stocks than to the fact of crossing.

Finally, when a mixture of races breaks the cake of custom and starts a new phase of cultural progress, population increases. As a mere fact of statistical probabilities the larger the population, other things being equal, the larger the chances for the rare combinations which give rise to men of genius.

Where all the factors, racial, geographic and psycho-social, are favorable, an amalgamation of stocks gives impetus to an economic and political evolution which leads to the rise of a nation. If the rights of the individual are made secure and his liberty of thinking and acting are well guaranteed, the diverse potentialities of the population find a more or less complete expression. Cities arise, and in consequence of their dynamic and multifarious stimulation the human genius available in the surrounding territory reaches its highest expression. Talent of every sort is drawn, as if by an irresistible magnet, to the metropolitan community. It there contributes its mite to cultural achievement and mates with other talent. Not only is the city always and everywhere the center of civilization but it produces within its own borders most of the genius that gives color and brilliancy to its life.[144] In an atmosphere of freedom and appreciation human potentialities reach at once both their apex and their nadir. Both the heights of creative inspiration and the depths of human vice and degradation

[144] See L. F. Ward's summary of Odin's study of French genius, *Applied Sociology*, Boston, 1906, Chap. IX.

flourish side by side. Eras of great brilliancy are thus also eras of great wickedness; and repression by law and rigid moral codes reduces the high lights of a great epoch to the dull gray monotone of an insignificant mediocrity.

Brilliant eras represent the flowering of racial genius. As one surveys the rise and fall of civilizations it seems difficult to find a more tenable theory to account for their decline than the gradual exhaustion of the racial genius. The city is a deceitful patron which flatters the talent it produces while preparing those social conditions which sterilize it. The city not only impoverishes the country-side but in the course of time consumes the very talent which alone can maintain its economic and political structure, create its art and amuse its populace. If the city arises in the midst of an immense population this process may take many generations, but in the long run the account must be much the same. For, once those genetic elements whose combinations can alone give rise to super-endowments are lost, there is no way to restore them except by introducing them through a new invasion by a people long subject to the vigorous operation of natural selection.

There is thus a racial factor in civilization. High cultures have only been produced by the combinations of well-endowed races. Moreover, it is not at all probable that the general direction which the evolution of civilization has taken during the last few thousand years is a happy result of fortuitous cultural contacts. Some human groups have during the whole of historic and prehistoric periods never risen above their environmental limitations. On the other hand the various branches of the white stock have in the past combined in a variety of fruitful ways and are to-day leading the way in the organization of the world's resources. In the future, no doubt, larger contributions to science and invention may be expected from the highly-endowed yellow peoples. But the future of European civilization seems less bound up with any possible questions of racial differences or any possible results of new racial amalgamations than it does with the application of eugenic measures to the existing populations.

This is particularly true of the United States. The original population undoubtedly possessed many excellent qualities. But

the hereditary potentialities of the American people have been greatly increased by the immigration of the last hundred years. If these have been somewhat reduced by some of the immigration of recent decades they have been widened and diversified by other endowments in which many of the newcomers were richer than the Old Americans. But the present tendencies toward dysgenic reproduction are certain in the course of a few generations to draw out of the population and destroy much of its hereditary and potential genius. This is not a question of preserving the Anglo-Saxon stock. Much of that stock is utterly worthless and should be sterilized at the earliest possible date. Nor it is a question of drawing racial lines and cultivating a sense of racial caste. This increases social frictions and reduces social efficiency.

It is solely a question of encouraging or maintaining the multiplication of the more able, regardless of race, and of discouraging the multiplication of the less able. Measures of positive eugenics are difficult to introduce, but widespread education and free discussion will do much. Information is all that the intelligent need. For the less intelligent there should be devised and universalized some effective means of birth control. This would help to restore the disparity between the birth rates at the upper and lower social levels. There might also be a gradual extension of the present policies of segregation and sterilization.

It is by no means certain that much can be accomplished in this important matter. The course of history is far from yielding, as yet, to rational human control. It is not improbable that the immediate future of American culture will prove vastly more brilliant than its past, especially in products of the creative imagination and the æsthetic sense. But it is foolish to suppose that the biological potentialities of the population are either unchanging or inexhaustible. The wisest statesmanship would begin at once the discovery of the gifted strains and seek to introduce social conditions favorable to their preservation and multiplication.

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